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Hans Zehrer

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MAN
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Hans Zehrer

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All Scripture passages are from Dr. Moffatt's "New Translation of the Bible".

INTRODUCTION

By Dr. Hanns Lilje, Established Bishop, Hanover.

THE importance of this work needs no emphasising by me as far as its achievement in thought and style is concerned. If I do call attention to it, I do so because I consider it important for another serious reason. The analysis it presents of our existing intellectual situation, worked out in silence over years of hard thinking and most exacting toil, leads us inevitably, in one sweep of thought, to the fundamental problems of our generation, which the Christian can only regard with astonishment. This book discusses, albeit in a most individual manner, the questions of existence affecting our Christian Faith. It outshines a whole series of minor works because it reasons so powerfully and uncompromisingly. The difference between it and most analyses made after the First World War, like those of, say, Oswald Spengler, seems to me to lie in the fact that this book looks forwards, not backwards. We are not faced with dissection of the past, but with the question of our very existence in the future. Because of this honest approach it follows that its intellectual path leads straight to the area illuminated by the Christian Faith. I trust the reader will experience the same deep emotion the work produced in me and, like me, be moved to express it. The Research Department of the Evangelical Academy in Hermannsburg will gladly receive any comments and thus give practical aid to the work, as all who realise its value would wish.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THIS is an abridged and edited version of Hans Zehrer's *Der Mensch in Dieser Welt*, translated from the German with the assistance of distinguished scholars and teachers. It is the general view of these experts that this shortened and more cogent form of presentation will best suit the exposition of Herr Zehrer's ideas to the English-speaking world.

Chapter

1

THE MAN FROM THE HUT

I

THE huts stand on the edge of a small village. Built first for German soldiers, then used by Poles, they now accommodate refugees from East Germany. They hold five times as many people as the village itself.

From one of them a man emerges. Forty-five years old, with grey hair, he has a look on his face which at first gives the impression of ironic laughter. But, as though frozen stiff, his face never varies.

The man once had a wife, two children, and numerous relatives. He possessed a home, owning a well-stocked farm. He possesses now—that is to say, has possessed for three years, for he used to be a soldier—nothing but what he is carrying on him. No more and no less. He has a wire contraption with a palliasse and a military locker which he shares with two other men. Five men are living in his room in the hut.

The man has a roof over his head, a bed, and a third of a locker. He has work. He works eight hours a day building roads at 78 pfennig an hour. He earns 34 marks and 32 pfennig a week. He has food. Occasionally he gets hold of a bit of old clothing, or some home-grown tobacco.

One cannot say that society's provision for him has failed, and the man himself does not complain. Indeed, he speaks only occasionally, recalling his house, farm and stock, his parents, wife, and two children. In so doing he blooms like a flower and grows livelier. From being a " has been " he becomes a person again. He comes to life only in a dead world, for it is a world that exists now only in his memory. He does not speak for long, however, but slides back into his silence, always ending with the same question :

" Well, tell me, who am I, then, and what am I living for, and what is the sense of it all ? "

He expects no answer. The question hangs about as frozenly as the look on his face.

The State cannot answer it, for the State knows only such concepts as the Levelling of Burdens, the Creation of Work, Land Reforms, and Small Settlements. But none of that is what the man means.

Society cannot answer it. Society has knowledge only of things like Care Committees, Goods Collections, Refugee Aid and Emergency Equalisation. But none of that is what the man means.

In the State's world and the world of Society the man is a registered number in an enormous card-index. Yet he is a living entity and an individual human being, putting a quite concrete question: Who am I, for what purpose am I living, and what is the sense in my existence?

The four other men living in the same room with him put the same question. It hangs like a cloud over the whole camp, over a whole country, over a whole continent, really without expectation of an answer, yet there is a trace of expectancy in it, a suspended "Perhaps" which some day might receive an answer.

2

This question thrust itself quite suddenly upon the man from the hut. Once he would have been able to dispose of it without difficulty from the assurance of his settled background. He lived in a secure shell and was conscious of possessing a settled shape. Now he is before a dark abyss of nothingness, and is shaken, as any other human being would be, to the very core. He is brooding in an empty room from which everything which hitherto had given him sense and a purpose has been removed. With the consciousness of "Nevermore!" he stares into the void of Nothingness. Despair has given him that strange look, as though he wore a fixed ironic laugh.

The man does not stand for himself alone. He represents also the last stage of an historic development and its extreme limit. Not merely for three years, but for more than three decades, the man's question has been hanging over a country, stretching over a continent, slowly spreading over the whole planet. For more than three decades piece by piece the man has been losing his former existence and the possessions which gave shape and meaning to his life. The generation whose years bend like an arc over the abyss of the three decades is getting smaller. Two-thirds of their life is spent. It fell to their lot to experience the irruption and domination of a strange sinister power. They cannot count on seeing the outcome of this domination, but what they can establish clearly from their own experience is that the flow of History no longer bears us forwards in a rushing stream, but is carrying us round and round in circles.

Drawn into a gambling game, each individual is asked to stake his

all: life, home, family, profession, and property. Millions have already lost everything. But the game is not yet ended.

The Man from the Hut has retained his life. That is all. Numbers of other faces appear with his, staring into the void of "Nothing" with the consciousness of "Nevermore". They tell their stories as he does, circumstantially, soberly, and unsentimentally. And, like him, they end by asking, "Who am I, for what am I living, what is the sense of my existence?"

There are the faces of survivors from the First World War, when the security and privacy of man's shell were shattered. Faces from the ensuing political, social, and business spheres when the individual lost a large part of his stake in life. The vacant faces of the unemployed, who were puzzled to find themselves suddenly stranded. Faces which had been on the far side of the barbed wire, and, returning, found nothing but a smashed life before them. The face of the man from the hut is representative of millions of men from whom everything has been taken away except life; and for whom life has lost all meaning and purpose.

Three decades are half a lifetime. If for such a period no change can be recorded save the increasing violence of sinister power, while more and more people are dragged into a losing gamble with destiny, then human reactions begin to change. Not long ago it would have been unthinkable for a man to talk so soberly and objectively about the utter collapse of his personal life. He would have given vent to outraged feelings, been an easy prey for anyone directing him to the source of injustice in the world. The question of guilt, which makes sense of such happenings, was easy to propose and answer.

Who is to blame for what is happening in these days? Many answers have been given and accepted, but they can be divided into two categories. Either what happens is independent and autonomous, and therefore alien to man; subject to laws of its own. Or the "other man" is guilty. In the former case man's task is to recognise the laws behind events and to adapt himself to them. It is the conclusion of those who are convinced of the supremacy of human reason. The second conclusion is more satisfying because it invites instant action. The Other Man, being responsible, can be punished and eliminated. He wears many masks: the other nation, the other race, the other social stratum, the Capitalist, the Socialist, the Communist. But always it is the Other Man who is to blame for everything.

Neither answer satisfies the Man from the Hut. The attainments of science over three decades have proved unable to change the course of

events; they have merely made it more acute. And the exposure of the Other Man has similarly proved powerless to change the world's course. The man knows one thing for sure: if at a single blow he can be deprived of home, family, profession, and possessions, and if these occurrences are in some way so natural as to be legalised by the State and normalised by Society, something so monstrous must have happened, and the whole must have so prodigious a meaning, that it can neither be comprehended by a scientific theory nor can the Other Man be the cause of it. There must be something behind it, something more tremendous than the Other Man or the Peculiar Laws of Events.

3

The Man from the Hut represents the last stage of an historical development and its extreme possibility: the condition of despair. But despair, even when normalised and legalised, cannot be a permanent condition. It is always a transition state, either presaging the end, or else affording a bridge to something different. Something is going on within, something is being hatched that will only reveal itself later on. A possibility in what direction?

In the days of the big bomber a man and a woman only slightly acquainted found themselves surviving together. The man had lost his wife and both his children. The woman had lost her husband and her child. They went off together into another part of the country to another life. Hitherto both had known who they were and for what they were living. That was so yesterday. Today it was no longer so, and they both jumped over their own shadows and plunged into a new existence, over which the glitter of a dæmonic freedom seemed to lie.

Thus there is the possibility of intoxication. Intoxication is born of anguish and precedes despair. In intoxication, anguish is no more, and despair has not yet come. A magical feeling of might and power and of great freedom takes possession of man, and he says, "I do not wish to know any longer who I am or to what end I am living, and I do not wish to follow after knowledge". Intoxication hangs a merciful curtain over past and future and blesses man with blindness, projecting all that is essential in him into an instant of time, in order to provide him with duration and permanency.

But man's nature is not such that he can bear intoxication for long, or find in it release from his situation. Knowledge was also given him, and he cannot escape from it. It catches up with him. Only in utter extinction of the self could intoxication be complete, and when life rejects the act of self-annihilation it is thrown back upon itself,

emptied and used, and surrenders man to despair. In intoxication the decision is merely deferred.

In anguish man does not experience the " Nevermore " of despair, but recognises its possibility. He retains his own shape and shell, and everything which fills him and his world with purpose is at hand: life, home, family, profession, and possessions. He still knows who he is and to what end he is living. But the possibility of the void is already there. Things stand in a pale light, throwing weird shadows. The reason may lie in the world outside, or in the man himself. Profession and property may be threatened by external circumstances; but they can also lose their sense owing to a process in the man himself.

If anguish moves in the direction of despair, the search for drunkenness may begin, man seeking to extinguish knowledge. He frees himself from anguish and passes into intoxication at a leap, for the intoxication depends upon a sudden contrast between the Once-upon-a-time and the New-fashioned; every repetition weakens it.

It was greatest at the beginning of the historic development which bit by bit was to take from human beings the sense of meaning and purpose in existence. The intoxication of August 1914, when millions felt a sensation of might and strength and a liberty unheard of, has never been experienced in such potency again. Even the intoxication of 1933 and 1934, or that of 1944 and 1945, was not comparable to that of 1914.

One can thus infer the degree of anguish which must have possessed men before 1914 and the possibility of the void which had overtaken them. If one contemplates those men today, either in memory or through their surviving personal testimonies, one characteristic stands out with peculiar vividness: they knew to the last detail who they were and for what purpose they were living. They possessed a shape, self-contained and clearly defined, and they sat in a shell most admirably appointed and equipped, and containing everything in plenty: life, home, family, profession, and possessions.

If the possibility of Nothingness bursts upon a man who is so certain who he is and to what end he is living, and who is so secure in the fullness of a well-provided residence, then the degree of anguish must be mighty, for there is so very much to lose. If such a man succumbs to intoxication, the degree of intoxication must be proportionately high. Hence the frenzy of August 1914 is comparable only with the most delirious upheavals of Western history; the Crusades, the scourge of Attila, and the Revolutions. It was in August 1914 that the gambling-game, with human beings as stakes,

began. " Now I know that I am alive," man shouted in a drunken delirium. Not many were capable of seeing that it was not he who was alive.

Intoxication is always of short duration. It soon passes, and is weakened by each repetition. The feeling of might and power, and the swindling illusion of liberty, have no duration. When intoxication subsides, knowledge unveils to man the reality of " Nevermore " and delivers him over to despair. Even the radiant faces seen at the beginning of that ripe August did not last long. Next year the black hues of mourning and the faded pallor of " Nevermore " were already being revealed.

Intoxication occurs in the brief passage from anguish to despair. Its power is broken when man's conscious knowledge overtakes it, and it cannot then be repeated. This also applies to those historical epochs marked by intoxication. Measured by history's scale they have always proved brief. And if intoxication appears to recur in a community, it will be found that different social strata have been affected.

This was, for example, the case in Germany. The intoxication of 1914 arose from the anguish of the *gros bourgeois* when faced with the possibility of Nothingness. The intoxication of 1933–34 arose from the anguish of the *petits bourgeois*, the office employees, and a section of the working class, while that of 1944–45 embraced only a tiny layer of the population which had found security in the totalitarian regime. Anyone overtaken by knowledge becomes impervious to intoxication, and remains an unparticipating onlooker or the calculating fellow-traveller when others succumb. The surviving war-volunteers of 1914 did not fall into the same intoxication twenty years later, but used the delirium of others to increase their own rank or secure their appointment to inspection boards. In a similar way, twenty years earlier the Opposition used the intoxication of the ruling class, with relative coolness, to strengthen their own position.

If a whole nation is overtaken by knowledge, faced by the actuality of " Nevermore ", it is already in a state of despair, with no further possibility of intoxication. Such is the case with the German people today, and all attempts to lure them into new frenzies are foredoomed to failure.

4

Intoxication is the temptation of anguish. Despair brings temptation to evil. The apathetic lethargy of the man who stares into the void must not blind us to the dangerous forces gathering within him, liable at any moment to strike this way or that. The indifferent

stare, characteristic of his state, is a mask behind which gigantic forces are at work. They appear, these forces, to be alien and dæmonic. They seem to flow from somewhere into the man. But they are the forces of his own being which afflict him, released by the Nothingness. Home, family, profession and property—it is upon these that a man's essential nature depends, the strongest of the binding forces being normally the family. But with the decline of the family in the modern world, profession and property have gained greatly in importance and now exert an even stronger influence than the family. Home, family, profession and property repaid the man for the life with which he endowed them by giving purpose and shape to his own life.

In despair, however, this essence which he imparted hangs as it were in the void, and keeps fluttering there like the cobwebs of late summer. It returns slowly into the man from whom it went out. That is to say, the man is receiving back as many powers as he had given out, but finds himself unable to make use of them, so that they afflict him and strain him to an unbearable degree. He becomes obsessed by them.

To reabsorb and harness the forces of his being which he imparted is a protracted process of ingestion, not to be completed in a hurry. Meanwhile the unassimilated power becomes malignant and eats into him.

Thus in despair a man is consumed by his own powers. He feels these powers as independent forces which have invaded him, which grow stronger as his own life grows weaker under their assault. He may think and speak, sleep and eat quite normally, but he often contemplates himself in amazement, marking the heavy pressure of the foreign body thriving within him.

Despair is like bolting oneself in an empty room and vehemently affirming the Nothingness. The man accepts the void in which he is brooding and says, " Home, family, profession, property—it has all gone. Good! There is only Nothingness. That's how life is—that and no other way. Only a fool ever believed anything else. But if life is really senseless, with only Nothingness behind Everything, then Nothingness is the whole sense of life, and everything which doesn't pertain to Nothingness is false and without meaning, not worth living." In that affirmation Evil is born in man; he has succumbed to the temptation of despair.

The temptation penetrates the man who has begun to despair imperceptibly. At first it stretches over him as a possibility only, the " thorough rightness " of which begins to pervade him. If the essential characteristic of life is that everything which gives it sense

and purpose can suddenly be swept away, then to care about it is to make it unnecessarily grievous. Only those live rightly who do not trouble themselves about anything. They are the Clever, the Successful, the Children of Light, and among them there is definitely a place for the man who has lost everything. With that thought his original thoughts fall away, and life appears in a quite different light.

The veil of Maya has been torn to tatters. He discovers a new sense of freedom. The forces which have afflicted him have found their function. They no longer need to be elaborated and absorbed, but direct themselves against everything which retains a shape and is still possessed of security. They become destructive and disintegrating in their effect upon the outside world. And concurrently a change occurs in the man which in its negative aspect resembles the positive process of transformation and re-birth in the sphere of religion. The vital essence of the man is overcome and broken, without his ceasing to live. He runs on mechanically. It is as if a power were suddenly liberated from its tasks, and rattled off like a wheel into the infinite. A certain void immortality has been attained, something in the style of Ahasuerus or the image of the Flying Dutchman. The man has overcome his death by himself becoming Nothingness.

Then it is that the empty liberty of Evil, which has cast off all ballast—home, family, profession, and property—and is travelling light, displays itself. The man dwelling in a void finds all things suddenly become easy, inasmuch as it is possible to travel the shortest way to the fulfilment of his will, a way impossible for the rest of mankind.

In the state of despair no man is proof against the temptation of evil, but succumbs to it, whether in thought or in act. The powers by which the man becomes supersaturated may break out with unaccountable suddenness. Such outbreaks, in which the despairing man inflicts pain upon others and himself, cut like lightning through the diffuse twilight of the state of coma in which he lives, smash up the completeness of form, and have the effect of a discharge. The degree and the increase of evil will, however, be determined by the degree of knowledge available to a man. It is always knowledge which determines the conditions of anguish, intoxication, and despair. Where knowledge is lacking, as in the animal, these conditions are unknown. Where knowledge is restricted, as with simple and natural men, the capacity for falling into anguish, intoxication, and despair is less. It is only in the sphere of good that the Widow's Mite is reckoned tenfold greater than the Rich Man's Gift; in the sphere of evil it remains the mite that it is, even though

it is doing ill to the best of its power. According to the degree of knowledge, then, the capacity for evil develops, and may reach dæmonic dimensions.

Men recognise this hierarchy of knowledge and evil within the community. Absolute evil always pertains to the upper grades of society, which have access to knowledge. That is why the Church speaks of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which cannot be forgiven. The peak of the hierarchy stands nearest to the Good, not the farthest away from it. Evil is quite close to good, for which reason the Devil is represented as a fallen angel.

The religious, God-seeking man is also confronted by despair and " Nothingness ", for in order to find God he denies himself and in the cruellest self-discipline strips away everything that keeps him from God: home, family, profession, and property. He receives into himself the powers of his being which had been given to these things, eschews them, placing himself voluntarily in the void in which God's power can flow. It is the same void of despair. Only the " plus " or " minus " quality with which men stare into it is different. The man of religion goes into Nothingness with the positive expectation that God will reveal Himself, and that he will gain assurance; the other man goes into it without expectations, and therefore experiences it only negatively and destructively. The one goes up, the other down. One advances beyond Nothingness and suddenly recovers himself and is renewed. The other turns away from the Nothingness, but opposes himself to everything that has location and purpose. The dæmonism of Absolute Evil begins.

The empty freedom of a life rattling off aimlessly is impelled towards a form which can give it shape. Without form man would disintegrate. Evil, too, needs a form, but being internally void, it is in no way bound to a definite form. It can choose the form it will, and change as often as it likes. The man who has succumbed to evil thus becomes a chameleon and a Proteus, able to imitate all forms. The Devil was always accounted a Transformation Artist, the Master of Masks. As all these forms can have no content or inner meaning, they have to acquire significance by disintegrating other forms and drawing them into their voids. Hence those mythical figures which thirst for foreign blood in order to prolong their own existence. Hence also the restless business of Satan, ever on the hunt for souls, or seeking to remove men's shadows. An empty form casts no shadow. It has to populate the void within it, trying to compensate for quality by quantity. It has to legalise despair.

The frightful thing about this condition resulting from the vacant

life, of being unable to live and unwilling to die, is its absolute boredom, and the inability to attain self-forgetfulness except by the substitution of tension, sensation, and destruction.

Historically, evil always manifests itself most potently when man has restlessly given over his soul to external cultural forms, and thus emptied himself, and when these external forms, for any reason—such as destruction from without or decay from within—are no longer able to satisfy him regarding his nature and the end of his existence. Despair then becomes general, embracing the masses in its totality, who are flung out of their security into the way of anguish, intoxication, and despair, and finally delivered to Evil. That is why the Devil always appears in the latter periods of culture, as in late Rome and towards the end of the Middle Ages. The Christian view of history is sound in causing Antichrist to appear in the necessities and trials before the end, when his Kingdom is set up for an allotted time.

Thus it is today. The countries of the West, living in a terminal period which relates to them alone (for the rest of the world stands at a different point of development), are in a state of despair. It has been creeping on them for a century back. The clear-sightedness of the expiring nineteenth century recorded the appearance of the Evil in the works of Kierkegaard, who had portrayed it as anguish before the Good; in the figure of Dostoievski, who had shown it as the long boredom of crime; and in the ideas of Nietzsche, who had pictured it as the senselessness and disintegration of all values. These three men, who had to suffer gravely for their knowledge, and two of whom broke down under the strain, sharpened our eyes for us. But the Devil's incarnation has been reserved for the twentieth century. We are in the middle of the process. The Devil is in our midst.

This Devil, of course, is no longer on display as our ancestors saw him, with cloven hoof and horns and a goat's tail. A Master of Masks, he is now a smart man of business, travelling by car or plane through the world, now an upright gentleman of sober speech. He is an amazing organiser. He lectures; he writes books. Yet even now he often lets the mask fall and emerges in his true form. He thrashes and tortures. He runs the whole gamut of gruesome violence and mean deceit. He violates and murders and burns. Our world is full of his works.

But despair is not an enduring state. It is always transitional. Either it marks the approaching end, or leads to another possibility. It is characteristic of the power of the West's knowledge of itself that it detected the peak-point of brooding despair three-quarters of

a century ago. European nihilism has long since passed the point of transition. The twentieth century has left it well behind, and is now at the turning point of the drama's action, with the Devil visible among us engaged in a gigantic work of destruction.

That is the fact!—and yet at the same time it is not the fact! For the moment the Devil is visible again he loses his dæmonic power, which depends upon his invisibility in the diffused twilight of dusk. Visible, he again becomes the power which means evil and does good.

For the remarkable thing about evil is that it does not exist as a power in its own right. There is not a dualism between Good and Evil, God and Devil, each standing opposed on equal grounds. The Devil is involved in the Order of Creation and has his part to fulfil. His destructive power rages exclusively in the secure world where man possesses a clear knowledge of who he is and to what end he lives. Into this world the Devil brings the brand of destruction and the acid of decomposition, in order to thrust men out of their protective shells and assured shapes into the anguish, the intoxication, and the despair where they keep company with him in their own vacuity.

The void, the heavy brooding of despair into which he thrusts mankind, is a transitional state. It is in " Nothingness ", where Good and Evil are in closest juxtaposition, and the destiny of the individual depends upon the fraction of a turn, that the true crisis of humanity begins. If the turn is not given, the individual becomes an instrument of the devil; but he then stirs up the fire in which the good is annealed like steel, though he has gambled away his own stake.

It is at the point of " Nothingness " that Western man now stands, and he must pass through and beyond it. The crisis of despair which the late nineteenth century at the peak of its knowledge anticipated has come. The crisis has become a reality for everyone.

Man never stands collectively at this point, but always as an individual. The matter at issue relates to quality, not quantity.

The Man from the Hut is individual, but he is not alone. He lives in a room with four other men who are like him. The hut contains many rooms, the camp contains many huts, and they are situated in a country which holds many such camps. The Man is representative of innumerable men.

Within the framework of the community the question of guilt is irrelevant. The man without a home, without a family, without a profession, bearer and victim of communal guilt before Society, demands an equitable allocation of the burdens. And State and

Society have to recognise the claim. What can they do? At best they can provide him with a substitute. The State can give another residence, another farm with stock and land. Society can furnish him with another wife. He can beget other children, and begin a new life.

So much without any question must be done. The man will war internally and externally against the community if it is not. But how far does it take us? Does it enable the man to understand the meaning of an historic development which again and again for over three decades has been taking away from him all that made his life worth living? Have the hidden elements in the process been illumined in such a way that ruin and death and misery have enlarged human understanding? Not a bit of it! The community demands forgetfulness and promises a future. In place of the old reality it sets at best a substituted new reality. The game proceeds. A new round begins. But who gives any security that the new path will not again travel in circles, and men will not lose their stakes again, as so often in the past?

The man inquires as an individual about his own affairs, which he cannot forget; the community offers him something else, which can become his own only to the extent to which he does forget. In the best instances it replaces what he has lost, and then awaits a rebirth, expecting the man to begin a new life. Cause and effect are here regarded as perfectly obvious; but are home, family, profession, and possessions values which can make a rebirth possible?

Within the framework of the community man sees not his own guilt but that of the Other Man. And the Other Man ensconced behind brightly lit windows, is always a sight to make one angry. In despair however, ground for a new existence is found through confession of sin; for acknowledgement of personal guilt is possible only when a man is able to face himself—i.e. when he no longer is what he was. Within the community, however, there is no such new ground in despair; it is the most tragic aspect of the situation that the community, desirous of unburdening itself, can do no other than push the guilt on to the Other Man, thereby blocking the way for individuals to confess their own sins, thus confining them in the province of Evil. Hence the power of the Evil is always growing in communities, and may reach Satanic proportions.

Confession of personal guilt shows men the way through memory into the future; whereas the community can only point to the future by way of forgetfulness. Confession of personal guilt sets man as a transformed individual in a world whose condition is no longer the paramount concern. The community can only place a man as he is

in a world which demands broken pledges as the price of its maintenance. Through communal guilt, shifted to the Other Man, Evil thrives enormously; in confession of personal guilt it is extinguished where it originates, in the soul of the individual.

Here the connection between individual guilt and external occurrences becomes obvious. Personal guilt, limited as it is to hidden private matters, seems far removed from great historical affairs. None the less, confession of guilt releases great power, since it transforms human beings.

What if the hidden meaning of the crisis is man's need of conversion?—that he introduces himself unchanged into new conditions, and, like the restless Ahasuerus, keeps for ever appearing as the same person, a being dæmoniacally shut up and torpid in his past, throughout the change and collapse of his own world?

If that were the case, attempts to reach the meaning of historical development by way of consciousness would come to a dead end, and the effort to influence events by merely modifying external conditions would be vain—as indeed has proved the case. Access to the meaning of the historical development would then not be obtained "up here", by way of observation and the modifying of the external world, but could only be gained "deep down"—that is to say in the inner realm where the individual in a state of despair confesses his own guilt, and goes on to repentance and reparation, and hence becomes a different person. Such confession is not the product of consciousness, with its mastery over the technique of logical thinking, but springs from a perception realised only in the depths of the complete and unified individual existence.

> "Modern man has cleverly elaborated numerous systems of ideas", writes Max Scheler, "in order to elude the rising flood of guilt in him. This is the basic behaviour of the most modern human type, which appears to have finally emerged from the structure of Christian life. The guilt of the epoch has been allowed to accumulate and grow to such an extent that so far from atoning the moderns do not even dare to feel it and think about it. And the sense of guilt which they have guiltily obscured, emerged as a purely objective force of 'circumstances', economic circumstances for instance. . . . His own unrepented guilt or that of his fathers rises up before modern man like a ghost, in which his soul no longer recognises itself."

The question put by the Man from the Hut would thus circuitously be directed back upon himself, for external occurrences

would only be the result of the cumulative personal guilt of innumerable individuals, only to be overcome to the degree that each individual in the secrecy of his conscience recognises his guilty faults, and, through repentance and the desire for reparation, becomes a different person—including the Man from the Hut himself.

It is no easy matter, the confession of one's own guilt. It is not merely a question of remembering how things went with wife and children, parents and relatives. Such recollections come and go of themselves, and bring with them the despairing glitter of "Nevermore" and the readiness to repent. But that is not the whole of guilt. Ultimate guilt lies deeper, and asks not about the orderliness of the home, but about its reality and justification.

Home, family, profession, and property. So long as they were there, the man knew who he was and to what end he was living. When they no longer existed, he no longer knew. It is precisely there that personal and historical guilt begins. Man's existence as an individual can rest too much upon these things. He will be dying his own individual death without any home and family, without any profession or occupation. Existence has not become senseless and despairing because it has lost the things upon which it was based; it has now become clear that such existence always was senseless and rooted in despair, just because it based itself on such things alone, and ignored the fact of personal solitary death. Thus St. Paul wrote:

> "Let those who have wives live as if they had none, let mourners live as if they were not mourning, let the joyful live as if they had no joy, let buyers live as if they had no hold on their goods, let those who mix in the world live as if they were not engrossed in it, for the present phase of things is passing away." [1]

Living only in the reality of this world, man feels a great deal more security and certainty than his true nature warrants. Herein lies his peculiar guilt; and for what has happened in the last decades, centuries have been making ready. Guilt is at the same time both personal and historical. A strange and sinister power has now emerged, and for more than three decades has affected the reality of this world and been taking from man one thing after another of all his possessions. More and more it has proved the unreality and deceptiveness of the world upon which he founded his existence, and shown that it is precisely the multiplicity of security and safety which each man claims as of natural right and as the reality of his existence which shatters our world.

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 29–31.

Home, family, profession, and possessions—these are the foundation-stones of a human existence. How can a man be guilty if he bases himself upon them, and how can evil grow up thence? He becomes guilty because, in basing himself upon them, he ignores an essential part of his being. He is an unfinished and imperfect being who never can say with certainty of himself who he is and to what end he is alive and what is the meaning of his existence.

"It is God's nature", wrote Luther in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, "to make something out of nothing. Therefore God cannot make anything of someone who is not yet Nothingness."

Chapter

2

DOWN TO THE LEVEL

> "You are the salt of the earth. But if salt becomes insipid, what can make it salt again? After that it is fit for nothing, fit only to be flung outside and trodden under foot."
>
> St. Matt. v. 13.

I

WHEN the question about the nature of man arises either in the life of the individual or in the historic course of a given culture, the signs are stormy. It is the most natural, but also the most radical question man can ask. For which reason he seldom asks it, preferring to assume that the answer is known.

When as an individual he asks this question, one can infer that something which gave him security has come to an end. When the question emerges in the historic course of a given culture, it is a sign that the foundations of the culture have become faulty, and that people are no longer unselfconsciously at home in it.

In our own time the question has become central. It prepares the way for the two most radical phenomena known to man, usually regarded as diametrically opposed: Revolution and Religion.

He can put the question to other people, or he can put it to himself. If he puts it to other people, he sows the seeds of revolution. If he puts it to himself, he is preparing the ground for religion, for he is unequal to coping with it, and must break down unless given an answer by some extra-natural power.

The question presses upon the man who represents authority and tradition, and it is at the same moment both destructive and liberative.

Rich cultural states always produce people who in their representative capacity claim to be great, but in the personal sense are small because they are encased in a ready-made cultural shell. When, instead of accepting them for what they represent, men start inquiring into the essential nature of these pillars of society, the inquiry soon turns into an avalanche which flattens out innumerable values and leads to culture's Day of Judgement. The hierarchic edifice of any community shakes to its very foundations at such a moment, and Authority and Tradition roll on to the rubbish-heap.

The crumbling of authority and tradition means both a gain and a loss for man. A gain, because it releases forces in his nature which have been subject to authority and tradition, and thus enlarges his being. A loss, inasmuch as it exposes him to liberty, which is close to anguish and brings danger and poverty in its train.

At first he perceives only the gain. Then the question which hitherto he had been able to leave to others falls grave and weighty upon himself, shattering his assurance. Man is the Measure of All Things! Certainly! But what is the human norm? What is Man? Who am I, to what end am I alive, and what is the sense of my existence?

In general, as we have suggested, man avoids the question. If it forces itself upon him, he straightway passes it on to someone who can answer it as the representative of authority and tradition. Only when that opportunity no longer exists, when authority and tradition have been demolished, does he turn the question back upon himself.

We can perceive amid the confusion of our era the correlation of revolution and religion. Traditionally and conventionally they are separated like day and night. Revolution in the intoxication of liberty sets fire to the Churches and slings the monstrances down the drain. Religion thunders anathemas to protect the All Holiest. Seldom has religion perceived in the revolutionary forces the sway of the Power to which she herself is subject. She has left Revolution to the Devil, thereby granting him a quality of life at the cost of that Living God whose bounden instrument she is.

There is, however, an immediate correlation between religion and revolution. As the most radical human phenomena they are both closely related to the question of the nature of man. Revolution thrusts it upon the representative of religious authority and tradition. In that hour religion comes up for judgement. But it grows in stature when it is dragged down; while man, who, in the intoxication of freedom, has abolished authority, has no one to answer his questions, and from a questioner becomes a questionee, having to stand examination and give evidence. At that point revolution comes under the judgement of religion, which, as representative of an extra-human and super-personal Power, is the final court.

We are in the middle of a world epoch in which the most violent of revolutions is already in process of transition to a religious event.

2

Man is the Measure of All Things! From the ground of this doctrine authority is questioned.

The questioning begins in the narrowest circle, that of the family,

where the question is posed by the wife and the children to the one who embodies the greatest authority: the husband and father. Hitherto the only problems brought him were those he had to decide as husband and father: questions which assumed his authority. Suddenly the questions become more penetrating. "By reason of what human values do you as our father enjoy an authority before which we have to bow?" his children ask. "For you can as little derive this authority from a marriage or birth certificate, issued by Church or State, as from the fact that you put us into the world."

So addressed, he is forced to consider the foundation of his position. He did not himself create his authority, but received it. Tradition, convention, custom, and habit contributed to its bestowal, and he accepted it as obvious and permanent. Under more searching examination it may appear no better than a ready-made mask, covering a lack of that inner spiritual strength upon which authority originally rested; and he may emerge as a being whose all-too-human nature cannot sustain the pretensions to authority, hitherto advanced as obvious.

Once a façade of authority has been destroyed, the appetite for attack grows, though in tearing down authority man is conscious of a poignant loss. Yet the sense of loss may at first be swallowed up by the sense of increased liberty, arousing great expectations for the future.

The attack on the family, shattering the authority of husband and father, leads to the emancipation of women and the revolt of modern youth. Both are phenomena it has been possible to observe over a number of decades. They have led to an extraordinary repression of masculine authority within the family and to a partial reversal of the hierarchy established for many generations.

Picture the family a hundred years ago. At its head stood the grandparents, honoured and sacrosanct in their authority, particularly the grandfather, to whom the father was still subject. After them came the father, and with him his brother. Male domination within the hierarchy was not questioned.

Age in the person of the grandfather formed the peak of the hierarchy. He symbolised authority in the family. Separated from immediate power, he was illumined by the gentleness and wisdom often manifest towards the end of a long life. Beneath him the father exercised power and dominion and was resolute in authority, while being himself still subject to the older generation.

Women have a role of their own. The grandmothers, the mother, and the numerous aunts exercised a harmonising influence, not less important, if less obtrusive.

When we picture the family, it is still in these terms, but the reality today is very different.

The grandparents, tolerated as beings far removed from the actualities of life, have been pushed out to the periphery of the family circle, and their wisdom is rarely consulted. Sometimes they appear comic, and sometimes pathetic. They are pitilessly overridden by children and grandchildren alike on the rare occasions they threaten to show any independent judgement.

The relationship between grandparents and parents is as a rule bad. The parents belong to the generation which began the attack on authority, and it needs only a little self-assertion on the part of the grandparents to revive the ancient strife. A chasm between the generations which has been painstakingly covered up is liable to gape open the moment the old people are reluctant to say an obsequious Yea and Amen to everything.

Relations between grandparents and grandchildren are usually better, because they live in such completely different worlds, and the grandparents have too long been deprived of authority to interfere with the young folk. Easy generosity often brings the children on to the side of the grandparent if a conflict develops between the older generations; but if any question concerning themselves arises they oppose parents and grandparents alike without second thoughts.

Relations between children and their parents are now less strained. Father retains merely a shadow of his former authority, and only in the rarest circumstances will he invoke that. Having overthrown the ancient authority, his strength has proved unequal to erecting another, and he is careful not to expose himself to the kind of attack from his children that he directed at his own father. Thus he is an uncertain, tottering figure, more disposed to let things slide than to seek to determine their course. Making little claim to authority, he at least avoids being questioned about his pretensions by his family. The freedom he obtained by the attack on his own father has profited him little; it has neither increased his stature nor strengthened his character. He moves hazily and indecisively through Time, content if he can avoid conflicts.

It is his children who have benefited from his early revolt. The family hierarchy has turned turtle. Its peak is now below and formed by the young. Whereas a hundred years ago the young heeded their elders, today the whole family hearkens to the children. Revelation no longer comes down from above, but up from below, the wisdom of age and experience having been relegated to the scrap-heap. Which means that the family hierarchy has been flattened out. In scarcely two generations a building of many centuries has been

brought down almost to the level. The status of woman, despite emancipation, has been less affected. The love-influences which she contributed to the old structure of the home did not set into rigid forms of dominion. The *raison du cœur* which women have at their command is not touched by those fundamental penetrating questions which are based on the *élan vital.* Within the structure of the old hierarchy she kept alive the soothing and warming powers of the spirit. Now that the old hierarchy is in ruins about her, she emerges relatively unaffected. Her tasks have increased, and make heavy demands upon the power of her love. With the collapse of male authority and dominion, her status has risen considerably.

3

What has happened within the family is the smallest and probably the most personal aspect of a development which is embracing every realm of human life. The attack on authority has become total and general. Any man with pretensions to authority, whether of birth, or based upon spiritual, educational, professional, or occupational status, must produce evidence in support of his claim, and expound the values upon which his privileges depend. If he is unable to do so, his mask is stripped off and his authority destroyed.

After the family, the most important sphere in which the individual is socially integrated is that of his profession. Each profession is endowed with authority and gives its members a status with claims to respect on the part of society. The most powerful are the professions concerned with the fundamentals of living. The clergyman, the magistrate, the doctor, and the teacher stand considerably above other people, claiming especial authority. Their standing is consequently being subjected to the most persistent questioning.

In these days—that is to say in the midst of a high civilisation—only in the rarest instances have the members of these professions a vocation for their work. The young man has to decide far too soon to what purpose his whole ensuing life is to be dedicated, and seldom does so freely and by reason of a compulsive inner urge. Traditions and social position, chance, opportunity, and material considerations start him off, and, once started, he will persist because he must, unless he is to surrender all hope of reaching independence at a reasonably early age.

Within a high civilisation vocational equipment for a profession is replaced by scientific knowledge, fixed regulations, and techniques which the young man must assimilate as quickly and completely as possible. The techniques and regulations were originally founded on the experiential wisdom and knowledge of a man who had won

them in battle with his dark " Opposite ". The young man today hardly has time to search into these prerequisites and fundamental sources of his knowledge. It would mean stepping down into depths of uncertainty and perilous conflict where only those with a vocation can maintain themselves. In general, the novice satisfies himself with acquiring the laws and technique of his future profession.

Only in theory is there now any selection and education of men whose vocation is that of opening the way to God for other men, punishing their transgressions, and healing or teaching them; tasks which presuppose a high and especial degree of personal fitness and authority. The essential matter now is for candidates for the professions to stamp themselves in the minimum possible time with dogmatics or the legal code, the techniques of advocacy, medicine, or philology, in order to qualify at a comparatively youthful age, and perhaps step into a University Chair.

A cleavage between the profession and the man is clearly shown here, and it must inevitably lead to a double existence. On the one side the clergyman, the magistrate, the doctor, and the teacher represent, " in office " or " on duty " as we now say, a traditional authority; while as individual human beings they have little to do with it, and are only under an obligation to behave in such a manner that the profession's prestige is not adversely affected. Thus we deal mainly with representatives of the priestly, the juridical, the medical, and the pedagogic professions, and a much lesser number of persons who have a real vocation to protect, to judge, to heal, and to teach. And the member of the profession is held to fulfil his calling so long as he meets the demands made upon him by the men who live by the profession; so long, that is to say, as he complies with professional regulations.

The cleavage between the member of the profession and the man with a vocation reveals itself the moment a question arises for which professional technique is inadequate, and which can be met only by calling on human reserves—the clergyman on the power of his belief in God, the judge on the wisdom and the justice of his nature, the doctor on his passionate preparedness to help and heal, and the teacher on the completeness of his knowledge and his love of creating and instructing.

It is not a meeting between man and man which is completed in the professions and their representatives. Abstract dogmas and laws, rules and lessons, keep pushing in and separating the questioner from the questionee; in which professionalism is like mathematics, where the amplitude of reality has to be transposed into the cypher-code of figures and formulæ before it can do its work. It is made

possible only by the questionee treating his profession as a material matter, and separating from it the human and personal background and underground factors, by treating himself merely as the object and executive organ of his regulations and laws. But in so doing he necessarily forces the questioner into the role of the object which also has had its human and personal background and underground elements separated from it. From being a subject in search of holy living, justiciary action, health-giving and educational activity, the questioner becomes an object of dogmatism and laws, medicine and philology.

Suddenly in this correlation the question about man breaks out from the living depths of the human soul and explodes it. The object—namely, the questioner and the man subordinated to authority—becomes subject, which destroys the wall between himself and the questionee and appeals again to the relationship between man and man. The devotee of a religious confession who has paid his Church dues punctually, and carried out the injunctions of his Church, turns into a human being asking other human beings who represent religious authority the question " What must I do to be saved ? " Our Saviour was not embarrassed by this question, but answered the rich young man, " Sell all that thou hast, and follow me ! " But what is a clergyman when asked this question to reply ? The times when the following of Christ presented a grave problem and busied the spirits of the priesthood have long gone past. The clergyman is master of his profession's laws and regulations, and through them and because of them he has hitherto enjoyed the respect accruing to authority. Now, however, he is met by a question—one which, having regard to his profession, is the simplest and most human of questions. And upon closer inspection it becomes evident that it threatens the whole of his authority with complete shipwreck. For an authoritative reply in effect there is our Saviour's answer, " Follow me ! " But in our Saviour the Word had been made Flesh, whereas in the professional representative of Christian teaching Word and Flesh have been separated.

The professional representative thus challenged and called into question is reminded of necessary antecedents of his profession which lie far beyond dogma or any exact knowledge, and he draws his coat of armour closer about him, kneels amid the laws and regulations of his profession, and fumbles with folio volumes. For now it is the question of his own existence which is posed by other men, and he himself lapses into uncertainty. He withdraws instantly and bluntly behind the strong bulwark of his science and his knowledge and locks himself off, not only experiencing the unrest blowing against him

from outside, but feeling, with horror, an inward response, the same unrest growing within himself.

"What must I do to be saved?" There is in truth only one usable road for him: that of allowing himself to lapse into the state of uncertainty that characterises his challenger. From the religious standpoint it would be the path of love; from the intellectual, the path of Socratic questioning, which makes the knower into a seeker and of the questionee a questioner. Whether the original questioner would be well served thereby, is an open question; for what the man sought was first and foremost an authority before which to bow and on to which to project his uncertainty.

In any case, it would demand of the clergyman sufficient strength to renounce the authority—and the security—of his profession, and to put the question to himself naked and defenceless: behaviour to which only the man with a true vocation can rise. How much of strength, of spiritual insight, modesty, and self-renunciation would it demand in a world where greediness for public approbation, love of power, and vanity are the dominating forces!

It is therefore more likely that the questionee, feeling personally attacked and his position threatened by the question, will hide behind the bulwark of his profession, and according to its regulations recypher the question as a means of eluding it.

By so doing he disillusions the questioner concerning authority, smashes the keystone of the social hierarchy, and even helps to create strife between man and man. In rejecting the question he showed that "he too is only a man", though with the advantage of an authoritative profession which he employs to maintain himself and gain security.

The questioner perceives this at once, and the mode of his questioning alters. He no longer asks, "Parson, what must I do to be saved?" but questions the status of the questionee. He may, for instance, recall that according to Scripture "the son of man had not where to lay his head". And that the disciple was enjoined "not to take anything with him save a staff alone, having no purse, no bread, no money in his belt, and not to carry two garments".

The parson knows these references better than his challenger; they form the precious stones of his Sunday sermons. But when the precious stones bounce back upon him in this form, he finds himself challenged by authority, and is harshly forced to recognise the ground of his security—a profession, a benefice such as feeds and pensions its incumbent, a warm room, and more of that sort! And in a bourgeois epoch living in comfort and security he will put a counter question, "Why shouldn't the parson live like that?"

But authority always involves some kind of asceticism and renunciation, most of all when it teaches that everything temporal is but a fleeting allegory. The saint, the hermit, and the monk are not affected by the question. They are the true guardians of authority whose critics fear to be challenged to " follow me and do likewise ". But the professional parson—is he vested with the right and the authority of the Word by the Crucified One who hangs above him and in whose name he speaks ? Or is it not the fact that authority and grace are accorded to him only in the degree that he humanly incorporates them in himself ?

We no longer find shepherd and flock opposed, but man meeting man on a basis of equal rights. And battle begins between them, a struggle in which authority will be tested and broken and brought right down to its ultimate values.

The battle will be fought by the questionee with increasing passionateness not only because his position and his authority are called into question, but also because the metaphysical bases of his very being are indissolubly united to his profession. In a civilisation which tries to grasp all values and render them useful, this man's profession has sucked up all the values of the religious and made them serviceable to itself. It liberates its incumbents from the torturing uncertainty pertaining to mankind, from which religious belief provides the only escape. Clearly and unequivocally it tells its incumbent the meaning of his existence. It not only renders his material existence secure, therefore, but his spiritual and metaphysical existence also.

Hence, if his profession is called into question, he faces metaphysical insecurity. He no longer understands his nature or the meaning of his existence. The questions break in upon him with irresistible violence, perhaps at an age when the resiliency of youth has gone, and, unable to bend, he can only be broken.

It is, however, not merely its incumbent's physical and metaphysical security which are threatened by the disintegration of his profession. These introduce a still more fundamental developmental process ; namely, that of the Court of Justice. The incumbent of a profession, once divested of his authority and flung back again into human insecurity, comes under judgement. It is not only the present which has been transformed. His whole past existence appears retrospectively in quite a new light, and comes before the man demanding that he take account of it anew.

The spiritual drama now acted within the man runs as follows. His profession has demanded many sacrifices, of himself and of others, which were obviously justified so long as they were com-

pensated by the equivalent of professional attainment. Much occurred, and much was bound to occur, for which one's own conscience could not bear the responsibility, but which found its justification in professional necessities. There have at all times been members of a little ruling class who have had to sustain a distinction between their own conscience and the necessities imposed by the State, whose personal morality could not be used as a measuring-rod for the greater creation with whose destiny they narrowly identified themselves. Thus arose the concept of the Reason of State, a procedure which in the words of its historian [1] " remains problematical and equivocal, because known injury to morals and rightness, in all circumstances and no matter what the motives from which it may ensue, remains a moral stain, a defeat of ethical values in its cohabitation with the executive force. Thus conduct as dictated by Reasons of State runs constantly hither and thither between the darkness and the light."

Alongside this idea of the Reason of State, however, there grew up in the meantime the idea of Professional Reasons, and instead of a small ruling class, this now drives multitudes into a conflict between professional reason and conscience.

> " Whereas in earlier times there existed so to speak a social and moral division of work whereby the little man could preserve the morals of his bourgeois decencies, and it was only the ruling classes which came into that conflict, this problem has as a result of democratisation gradually become acute for the little man." [2]

The modern profession is of such a kind as to lay an enduring burden on the conscience of those who practise it, being subject to other laws than those of the human heart; and it is everywhere setting up conflicts in men which formerly only a few had to fight out in themselves. Thus professional life has turned into a fight for existence, in which the weaker and gentler are ruthlessly eliminated, so that success is always bound up with sin against others.

The debt towards one's fellow-men to which professional life inevitably leads is but the immediate and external consequence of the profession. There are more difficult inner conflicts which emerge into consciousness only when the assurance inspired by the profession fails. The whole of a man's life may be coloured by the idea of his profession, and the personal, human side of his existence

[1] Friedrich Meinecke: *The Idea of the Reason of State* (Berlin, 1929).
[2] Karl Mannheim: *Man and Society in the Period of Transformation* (Leiden, 1935).

be neglected. He has neither the time nor the inclination to reflect clearly on his experiences good and bad, and to allow his existence to ripen duly. Thus behind the smooth mask of his profession he carries a mass of unsettled human questions about with him, and they break in upon him the moment the mask slips and conviction fails. Relationships towards one's parents, towards one's wife or husband and children, towards relatives, friends, and acquaintances, towards actions which seemed forgotten, deaths which seemed deprived of their pain, debts which seemed settled—all this rises up anew in him, and it appears that all of it was merely excluded by the walls of his profession, but not settled. Behind the actions now recognised as imperfections towards others there glimmers the painful and depressing consciousness of injuries the incumbent has caused to his own self.

His profession embraces only a small and often extremely limited part of a man's being. It leaves wide areas of the spiritual life untouched. A man who desires to succeed in his profession must adapt his whole being to serve it, allowing wide areas of his personality to be constrained and become stunted, when other areas are hothouse-forced and over-developed. In a word, he must specialise. Success ultimately covers everything. It is the reward for the sacrifice the man has had to make in himself. But what happens if one day the man has to admit that the sacrifice was made in vain, that success has not been attained, that the profession cannot keep the promises it seemed at first to make, that the adaptation of his being has stunted his nature incurably, and thereby a whole life, a unique soul, with all its many possibilities, has been senselessly wasted, without hope of turning back or beginning anew ?

So long as the laws and regulations of the profession retain their validity, the profession only needs to be vindicated within that framework. The judge renders himself guilty only if he is not master of his law-books. The doctor is held responsible only if he has erred in his prescriptions. The judge is not responsible for the law-books themselves, nor the doctor for the rules of medicine. They have only to assimilate and carry out regulations possessing absolute validity. But all that changes the moment the profession is called to question and stripped of its authority, and again made humanly responsible. Destiny does not inquire whether an incumbent is guiltlessly guilty because he took over the laws and regulations of his profession ready-made without first having weighed them in the scales of his heart or measured them on the balance of conscience. It does not estimate whether the guilt is to be traced primarily to his teachers, or the teachers of those teachers, or stored up through longer generations. It addresses itself to the living incumbent of the

profession, the man who is responsible today. And he has to take over not only the mighty burden of personal guilt, heaped up in the most diverse ways on every day of his professional existence, but also accept responsibility for the laws and regulations of his profession, sharing, because he took the regulations on trust, the guilt which generations before him have heaped up.

Enough has perhaps been said to make it clear that as soon as his professional existence is called in question, and his authority threatened, the incumbent will defend his profession and authority by all possible means, and not capitulate without a struggle. Any question which touches him induces a prompt stiffening of conduct, thus driving the questioner to press his challenge home more forcibly, and to attack the man sheltering behind the professional mask. But the passion of the questioner will not only be heightened by the questionee's obvious and obstinate resistance, but turns destructive from the wretched state into which the questioner himself falls.

For the question does not suddenly arise, aggressive and destructive, and launch itself against Authority. It has its birth in unrest and discontent, an awakening of the soul, a seeking and a groping round, which turns against the representative authority, because quite naturally it expects an answer from it. What has touched the soul, what has caused the unrest and awakened the feeling of dissatisfaction, may be left a moot question. But it is something positive and valuable, revealing the yearning for genuine values. What questions the existing authorities is the desire for true authority. It is the hope that the parson will be an Augustine, the judge a Solomon, the doctor a Paracelsus, and the teacher a Socrates. Something has come to fruition in the soul of the man putting the question, and it is only disillusionment at the absence of any satisfactory answer on the part of authority which gives the quest a destructive force; a convulsion which may endanger, disintegrate and finally destroy the authority that confronted him.

The process not only occurs within the man, in the realm of the spirit, but has its very real material and visible consequences in the framework of a civilisation also. Civilisation is a complicated and carefully balanced piece of clockwork, working without friction only so long as its regulations are generally observed. It has been built up on Faith and Authority. The moment the regulations lose their general validity, the vast mechanism begins to clog and jerk.

The regulations, like the whole apparatus, were designed according to a definite conception of human nature, which was regarded as quite stable. It was upon the fact that man, who bore the weight of the apparatus, was stable and unchanging, that the ex-

istence and the functioning of the complicated mechanism depended. There are innumerable things which " one " has to do, leave undone, recognise, or reject, in order that the machinery of civilisation may continue to run without friction. And it is not so much a matter of commands and prohibitions as a natural and generally accepted way of living, presupposing a standardised type of man; the Human Unit, interchangeable and convertible, and everywhere and always the same. The tiniest changes in the normalised man can provoke the greatest crises in the apparatus, which has taken into account not only man's good qualities but his bad qualities also, the latter, perhaps, especially. Efforts like those of the prohibitionists, vegetarians, and tobacco-haters, for example, have to be kept within narrow bounds and under sharp observation, for if they were allowed to develop on a big scale they would directly menace the millions of money invested in breweries and distilleries, the butchery and tobacco industries, and drag millions of men who earn their bread in them into joint distress, thereby conjuring up a crisis which, thanks to the narrow interlocking of all the parts, would affect the whole apparatus. All that " one " does, that " one " eats and drinks, that " one " wears, that " one " thinks, has been laid down once for all, and must never pass beyond the limits of the norm, if the apparatus is to remain in working order.

Raising the question about man is nowadays something that isn't done; " one " cannot do it without threatening the entire mechanism of civilisation. The standardised human being which forms its basis might accept another type-image, and exhibit a change of nature, which, like an earthquake, would immediately shatter the ground whereon the whole mighty apparatus stands.

Despite its external stiffness and stability, the apparatus of civilisation is very sensitive. It reacts, as every machine reacts when it lacks some essential precondition. It functions irregularly, and before long shows damage and becomes defective. To provide its executives with bread and work was the greatest achievement of the machine. In a state of crisis it cannot any longer wholly fulfil this task; that is to say, it ejects some of the men and leaves them unemployed and hungry.

As a result of the increasing material poverty of the questioner, the challenge to authority acquires deeper gravity and greater passion and explosive force. The parson, the judge, the doctor, and the teacher are now confronted with a man who perhaps has no place to put his head, and who carries nothing with him, except a walking-stick, having no bread, no money in his belt, no single change of clothes. The man may have fallen into debt to prevent starvation,

and been hauled up before the Law; he may have become ill from lack of money and needed bread, not moral exhortations. Renunciation and asceticism once provided the basis for authority, whereof the reflection is still seen in the incumbents of a profession. But here a new kind of asceticism rises up before them, the involuntary, superimposed asceticism of unemployment and hunger, which like every other pain and every sacrifice serves as basis for a certain kind of authority. This negative authority comes with its questions before the professions which still bear the fading semblance, the last dull reflection of authority. As they are based upon laws and regulations designed for a quite different kind of man—the normalised Human Unit—they have no answer. Instead the incumbent falls into a crisis of his own, for he is humanly touched, and can no longer withdraw from the appeal, but must give it a human answer. But his profession is going to pieces in his hands.

This is only one result of the question. There are material consequences, these developing just so and in no other manner, with an absolute consequentiality through an uninterrupted chain of causality. They increase the passionateness of the question, just as they make more acute the fight against authority and accelerate its annihilation. They are, however, accompanied by an inner development. The questioner as a result of his questions not only gets into material troubles, but finds himself in existential distress and begins to demand an answer at any price. His question menaces and destroys the authority which confronted him. In the sphere of the family this is a personal loss to him. Part of his private security, which was based on belief in the authority, has gone, part of the responsibility for himself which hitherto had devolved upon that authority becomes his own burden. The great cupola of Authority, which covered him, collapses pillar by pillar, and he is exposed homeless and insecure in a universe which has nothing to tell him about the meaning of his existence. The overthrow of authority for only a brief time yields him a sense of gratification. The increase in his own strength and the intoxication of freedom do not long expand his own being. They carry responsibility in their train. Every intoxication is succeeded by an unlovely awakening. Freedom always means wretchedness!

The questioner gets the deeper into this wretchedness as more authorities break down under the impact of his questioning. The man who has disintegrated the authority of the parson, the judge, the doctor, and the teacher, attains a higher degree of self-consciousness and self-affirmation than he finds pleasant.

External poverty and internal anguish give to the fight over authority a desperate and dæmonic character. Over the field

ploughed up by wretchedness comes the first scent of blood. Authority has indeed been annihilated, the pretensions of its representatives no longer have substance, but the intoxication of freedom has to be sustained as the only means to numb poverty and anguish. And the intoxication can only be sustained if the fight is continued, linked with all the gruesomeness and bloodthirstiness of which man is capable.

4

The struggle against authority has led to a social reversal. In past centuries it appeared self-evident that the professions closest to the spiritual realm should be at the head of the hierarchy. The man of intellect and the intellectual not only stood above other professions but took precedence over other distinctions, such as noble birth and wealth. Nobility and possessions could be justified only in so far as they served intellectual values or fulfilled Mæcenas functions.

It is the most learned professions which have been hardest hit by the collapse of authority. From the peak of the pyramid of values on which they stood half a century ago, they slid down, and in the evaluation of contemporary man are ranked lowest.

This downgrading is marked by the fact that the " intellectual " may be regarded with scorn, and even hatred. In the many internal political crises and revolutions, of which our era shows no startling lack, the intellectual belongs to the circles which are at once seized, threatened, and eradicated by the new masters. In the many external crises and wars wherewith our era is equally well provided, he belongs to the circles which are at once seized, threatened, and eradicated by the conquerors.

In contradistinction to the contempt for the intellectual, callings which in essence depend on bodily toil—in the realm of nature that of the peasant, and in matters technical that of the labourer—have continued to be more and more highly valued in the course of the last decades. It is not so long since the peasant was " stupid " and the workman " ignorant " and both given lowly status, because they were far removed from the realm of the intellect. The term " peasant " has been upgraded, but not wholly cleared of the earlier associations, and " farmer " or " husbandman " is usually preferred in its stead. The term " worker ", however, has won through successfully and become the master concept of the age. Whereas a few decades ago most people took steps to avoid being known as " workers ", the term has now become a badge of especial honour. Members of the learned professions are gratified when they are included among the " Brain and Hand Workers ". Brain, which

once avoided fields where manual labour was at home, is now much exercised to gain access to them, and makes every effort to accord such work a recognition far exceeding its actual importance. For work as work, whether in the field or in the factory, does not objectively contain values which justify the myth. Exactly as in the case of the family, however, authority has sunk from the peak of the hierarchy, and a complete reversal has occurred. What used to be the base of the pyramid is now on top, and the apex underneath.

And in exactly the same way the direction " from above downwards " had changed round. Whereas people used to give heed upwards, nowadays one gives ear downwards to catch the stir and excitement arising from below.

The intellectual is just as subject to the dominant tendency as the rest. His pen is at the disposal of all who will pay for it. His equipment is technical. He has the faculty of writing, but the ideas and thoughts flow to him from those standing round. Technical mastery of the pen, and an ear capable of at once detecting the stir in the masses, have become the conditions of the intellectual's success.

The professions less affected by the devaluation of Authority are associated with natural science, and employ its techniques. The particular importance which has been acquired by the surgeon in the medical profession is a case in point. The surgeon is possessed of two faculties : he is a " manual " worker, the hand manipulating the technical implements. From the intellectual standpoint, he should be placed at the tail of the medical hierarchy, somewhere near the dentist, who is also a surgeon, and even better provided with technical apparatus. The surgeon goes into action only when the specific art of the physician has reached the limit of its possibilities and it is absolutely necessary to use the knife. And this " cutting " comports surrender by the physician, who has come to the end of his healing acts, and can place no more hopes on the patient's internal powers of resistance.

This is not to contest the need and the value of surgery. But whereas, in terms of technical ability, surgery used to belong to the lower grades of the hierarchy, in popular esteem it is now at the top. What particularly distinguishes the surgeon today in public estimation—alongside the natural respect for bloody handiwork—is the quality of active attack about his treatment and the visible success which attends it. For the surgeon aims chiefly at manual treatment combined with speed of attack, and the man of today is a manipulative and aggressive type. The earlier physician concentrated more on curing from-within-outwards. Instead of taking people's illnesses away with a quick snip of the knife, he made demands on the

sick body for its defensive co-operation. Hence the surgeon's representative position today and the weakened authority of the intellectually conditioned physician.

A parallel in the legal realm is the change in the valuation of magistrate and lawyer. The magistrate's authority has declined, while that of the lawyer has enormously increased, for the lawyer is champion elect in the fight against authority, and possesses all the qualities the man of today expects in an intellectual specialist. In particular his authority is given him " from below " by the " simple citizen " whom he represents and whose purpose he seeks to fulfil.

Similarly increased now is the importance of all whose professions are directly based on natural science. The scientist takes pride of place, and is followed by the technician, the engineer, and the chemist, down to the operatives entrusted with any kind of mechanism in our technical civilisation. All these professions have been up-graded. Authority, it is true, has not been transferred to them nor have they created a new authority. In the realm of natural science no authority exists any longer, but we find in untrammelled dominion the " scientific expert ", a humanly neutral being valued only in proportion to his mastery over the laws and regulations of science and his understanding of his craft. It is indeed an obvious precondition of these professions that they exclude feeling, which would bring confusion into the clear world of figures and formulæ, of techniques and instruments. The surgeon's hand might tremble, the eye of the man employing the instruments of fine mensuration might be clouded, errors might creep into the calculations of the chemist. These professions have been neutralised and dehumanised, and have no authority in the old sense of the term. They are only indirectly affected by its breakdown through the irregularities of the mechanism of civilisation.

5

Family and profession are, of course, only sectors of larger areas standing under the law of authority. Beyond the family is the clan, the tribe, the nation, and the race. But the question about man breaks convulsively into these larger areas also, tearing down authority and destroying hierarchy, to the complete levelling out of values.

The older values, those conditioned by religion or by noble birth, retain small importance today. Birth counts for little except in the racial sense, that all the members of a given race possess nobility. " Blue blood " is thus no longer the prerogative of some few noble clans. Everybody now participates in " bluebloodedness " so far as they belong to some chosen race.

The world in which we live is dominated by two central qualities, intellect and education, and money and property. In theory intellect has precedence, but in practice money takes the top place.

The authority of wealth, however, has been attacked like authority within the family and the authority of the professions. A few decades ago a man of wealth and property enjoyed them as a natural right, and accepted just as naturally the pleasures and respect which they brought him. It mattered little whether he had acquired wealth or inherited it, though inherited wealth ranked somewhat higher. But it was beyond the range of his imagination to suppose that his right to wealth would ever be disputed.

Within a relatively brief period this has altered decisively. The man of wealth and property is asked why he enjoys his special advantages and what qualities justify his claim to do so. It is no longer sufficient to produce juridically valid title-deeds. In what manner can he justify himself?

Like family man and professional man possessed of some authority, he cannot advance a satisfactory answer. What prevents other men from taking away his property and dividing it among themselves? The juridical title-deeds and the power of the State behind them are not recognised at the humanistic level. Man is the Measure of All Things. But we are all men. Therefore every man can measure and test the rightness of things for himself. And if in so doing he becomes convinced that the other man is unrighteously possessed of his riches, he is not only justified in taking them away, but even humanly bound so to do. For as men we are all equally entitled to share in the available riches.

Once questioned after this wise, the authority of wealth and property collapses and disintegrates like other authorities. The limit is finally reached where questioning presses into active attack, and one man takes away another man's riches in good faith, believing that in so doing he is exercising his right and re-establishing justice and righteousness in the world.

Once the belief that man is the measure of all things has won general acceptance, it soon becomes clear that the resulting questions are charged with revolutionary force. It begins with a question put by the poor man to the rich, and ends logically and consequentially with the value of all property being destroyed, be it much or little.

Let us recreate a picture of a rich man who really existed only a few decades ago, and whom we can still recall. An elderly man, well but not startlingly dressed, and wearing one or two valuable jewels. He lives in his town-house in the winter and his country-house or farm in the summer. He surrounds himself with articles

of selected elegance, from the linen, table-silver, porcelain, furniture, carpets, pictures, and tapestries of his room, down to the carefully kept garden. He entertains on a large scale, and is often out visiting others. From the picture of the rich man, which everyone keeps in the album of memory, we may pick out a few essentials.

The restful and stable authority of the wealth is remarkable. No outsider challenges it. Its basis is a question for the rich man alone, and he does not seem troubled to the extent of losing any sleep over it. Freehold ownership of land and mortgages, gilt-edged investments and industrial shares, a respectable bank account producing good interest, and the valuables with which he is surrounded—it may well be that his peaceful security is based a little on all these things. The most striking thing is that the rich man's work counts least in his sense of security, or the esteem in which he is held by others. If he has a profession, and does any work, it seems good form not to mention the fact. Labour would have detracted from the value of his riches and dimmed their brilliance. In any case, his daily earnings bore little relationship to the extent of his property. The man lived and enjoyed his riches, and his work was situated on the periphery of his world.

Living with him were people also enjoying his wealth. Not his family, relatives, and friends alone, but a great army needed to keep up and keep his world in order. Servants and personnel, delivery boys and handicraftsmen, workers of every kind, right up to artists, authors, and musicians—a large circle of people directly or indirectly were bound up with his wealth, and shared a small part of its glitter and authority.

For this rich man really has authority! The servants adapt themselves to the Master's wishes, delivery boys and handicraftsmen doff their hats to him, and guests bring natural respect into the house. He is Master in his own world, a circumstance so natural to him and everyone who belongs there that it presents no problem, and it is part of his good form never to stress the fact.

But what did the rich man do with his wealth apart from enjoying it? From the description so far given it is clear that he had a special link with culture. The valuable jewellery, the linen, table-silver and porcelain, the furniture, carpets, pictures, and tapestries, up to and including the forcing-houses and the close-shorn turf—all breathe an air of culture and show the discrimination of the connoisseur. And the outward culture and inner knowledgeableness of the rich man, be they genuine attainment or pious aspiration, are the peculiar basis for his privileged position, for they bring him into direct relationship with intellect. He is certainly not measured "from

below" ; that is to say by the tips he gives, the high wages he pays, or the amount of money he bestows for "social" purposes. This man is measured "from above" ; by the extent, that is to say, to which he can transmute his wealth into intellect and culturally enrich the world about him. It is this relationship to the intellect which alone serves as ground for his privileged position, placing him as it does in subordination to a quality higher than himself, which he serves.

This direct relationship to culture and knowledge radiates to the whole circumambient human world of the rich man and gives a meaning to it. The servants, for instance, do not carry out their functions because he can pay the highest wages. Usually he does not pay the highest wages or give the biggest tips. He has no need to do so. But what his wealth does do is to give his cook, his gardener, and other servants the opportunity to display their arts unchecked and transpose them into culture. Perhaps his cook would earn more money by opening a soup-kitchen and selling quantities of bad meat *bouillons*. Perhaps his manservant would be richer as a cinema commissionaire, or his gardener grow more prosperous by plaiting funeral garlands. The amount a man can earn by his activity is not the only question, however. To what extent does he create cultural values, and how is his work related to the spiritual? The size of the wage-packet bears no relationship to joy in work. The cook can really stretch himself in the rich man's kitchen. With the best ingredients he can produce the most select of dishes, doing a job for its own sake. The rich man's gardener can let himself go in the greenhouses, without being limited by exact accounting. "I must look after 'my' silver, 'my' washing, 'my' turf", say all the servants, and from the obvious naturalness with which they say it one can judge of the value of the Master to the man.

And the same is true of the outer circumambient world of workers and artists. Tailors and shirt-makers can work up the finest materials. Carpenters and bricklayers are given tasks which make their work independent and creative. No one denies that the shirt-maker might make more money by serial production of bust-boosters or suspender-belts; but it is certain that he would soon be sick to death of the occupation, which would reduce his creative contribution to a minimum. It is an error to believe that he would get greater pleasure out of more money. Enjoyment is inseparably linked with cultural values, and man grows only in the measure in which he serves them. The expensive garment which the shirt-maker completed was his work, a work of art, through which the creative element in his nature could express itself. The work of art was

given to another man whose skill lay in caring for it, in washing, ironing, folding, and putting it carefully away in the wardrobe. The fact that the rich man put the shirt on and wore it, and that other mortals couldn't, was comparatively unimportant.

Then there enters the assured peace of this world the question about Man. It does not break in suddenly, but pushes nearer slowly, and, as it were, creeps its way in. The rich man's authority and grace slowly slacken and fade. Wealth as a value in itself slowly loses the respect hitherto accorded it. The behaviour of the servants grows more wilful and self-conscious. The workers no longer doff their hats naturally; they lug them off unwillingly, and put their heads together behind the rich man's back, and talk their talk and make their gestures. The rich man is slowly dragged down to the level of the herd. The servants bring their gossip from the seclusion of his house into the surrounding world of delivery boys and workers, there to be kneaded and whirled round and given forth again. Man has become the measure of all things, and wealth as a value in itself is no longer a measure to which things are cut. So the rich man is " only a man ", and we are all men. But once wealth is deprived of its natural authority and its owner brought down to the level of human beings, inevitably and logically the question arises by what right he is rich at all. He must have especial human qualities not possessed by other men. What are they ? Do they resemble those exported from his home by the servants, and whirled curiously round by the delivery boys and handicraftsmen ? Such sweepings display an inferior type, to whom the poor but respectable man is far superior. No claims for wealth can be based upon that.

And now a process is beginning similar to the developments in the family and the professions. The rich man mounts guard, defending his authority and property. The questioning becomes more searching and radical. The fronts draw apart and open fighting begins, which must end with the hierarchy of wealth being levelled out.

The immobility of wealth is vanishing. The freehold ownership of land and property, for instance, has lost its value through the heavy burdens imposed upon it. Peaceful possession is no longer an attribute of wealth. Owners of country houses and estates have been forced by high taxation to encumber their possessions bit by bit, while the duties which compel them to give board and lodging to others are growing even greater.

Peaceful ownership is further damaged by its continuity being broken up. What was once a particular value of wealth—that it was inherited and not acquired—is today reckoned a peculiar

injustice. It is counted an unrighteousness that inheritance should give one man comfort, while another is born to hardship. Thus the security of inheritance has been decisively shattered in the course of the last few decades. Heavier and heavier death duties have made the transference of wealth so difficult that in two or three generations freehold possessions will be entirely swallowed up. And through this process a most important feature of wealth has been damaged, and may be in the end eliminated: tradition, without which wealth loses much of its value. External culture and inner training are the work of generations, and can be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the course of a single life-time. Even a well-tended, short-clipped lawn only acquires its proper colour and texture by the third generation. All this becomes a dead loss once the security of inheritance is abolished.

Finally, peaceful continuity of ownership is damaged by the fact that currency, State investments, and industrial stocks are becoming unsafe and their values are wavering. An alien power is seizing wealth, convulsing it, and driving it from its security into the world, through which it hurries restlessly and ever faster, seeking to find a refuge—what is called the possibility of safe investment.

By means of taxes and edicts of State, of social duties and levies, wealth is being " beaten " like the pheasants.

Every newspaper in every country is full of news of the redistribution of wealth. And the decisive factor in the process is simply that in public estimation wealth is marked with a stain. " A rich man " has now become as much a term of reproach as " an intellectual ". Wealth, once reckoned among the peak values, has been levelled out, and the authority it embodied destroyed.

Less involved than freehold ownership, which is the true wealth, are actual earnings and profit based on work or production. Such wealth is, of course, also subject to taxes, often so heavy that the profit motive is crippled, and the worker calculates how little he should do. But gain from direct labour and management will always be recognised and tolerated, even when it is high. Just as those professions associated with commerce have not been included in the levelling process, so in the sphere of wealth " working " capital or " earned " income is not being affected. Labour, which in the days of peaceful ownership was pushed out to the periphery, has now become the actual scale of valuation.

The ideal of the age is a man who has created or manages a big undertaking, who works two or three telephones on his desk, is surrounded by specialists and women secretaries, has a whole row of ante-rooms full of the rattle of typewriters, and who races about the

world by plane, Pullman, or motor-car, heading conferences, signing documents, dispatching wireless telegrams; a man for whom everything is turned into work and business. This man sleeps on a train or an aeroplane, breakfasts with business friends, negotiating business deals in the process. Clothes have become a matter of sheer indifference to him, and jewels merely a nuisance. Naturally he runs a " wizard " car, with which no carriage could be compared, but all he knows is that it is fast and softly padded. He sits in the back turning over documents and giving his female secretaries quick, short stenograms. He earns big money by these activities, annual amounts which in former days would have served as a foundation for generations. But the value of these sums has for him, as for all the people in the world about him, been neutralised by the fact that work and business activities alone occupy his life, and he has no kind of rest or leisure to enjoy his wealth. He is no longer the rich man, although his income may be greatly increased. Instead he is a dynamic being, full of energy and toil, a meteor whizzing at top speed above the starry sky of civilisation, without repose or leisure, without time to live.

And as he is himself, so the world around him has been made. It is no longer the circumambient world of servants and workers, artists and authors, but has become as dynamic as himself. It is a world of specialists and secretaries, engineers and workers, people who have been dragged into the energy of his being and accompany him like satellites on his hurtling trajectory. They know that the " Boss " earns many times what they get, yet the question about man is less often raised here, for the simple reason that those who work for him enjoy a better life than he does. They see perfectly clearly that the man gets nothing for his money; he even has no time for the little human pleasures which his specialists and secretaries, engineers and workers are still able to filch for themselves. He has been eliminated and neutralised as a man, and become nothing but the impersonal instrument of civilisation.

He is extinguished the moment he would retire into quiet. Not only does he lack all the personal qualifications for equipping and conducting this retirement with cultural values, but he simply cannot retire at all, because he has a position, but no wealth. His wealth exists only so long as he is working with it; so long as he lets what capital he has work, tests every day whether it is working productively, and keeps investing it in new things in which it can work better. Capital can become very big in the process; but that amounts to nothing, since today there is only a working security, no kind of inert security at all. This man has to keep on " getting

in on things", he has always to be a jump ahead of others, in order to "get out" with his capital intact. There remains only the relative security of business activity and feverish work. Gold can rest and not rust, but machines rust speedily if they stand idle, and millions credited somewhere in an account-book can be lost in the twinkling of an eye. Wealth has been devalued and levelled out. Only restless activity can nowadays ward off destruction.

The essence of authority is peace. The moment the peace of wealth is destroyed, its authority comes to an end, and its relationship to cultural and spiritual values is finished. In the course of a few decades the authority of wealth has been shattered like that of the intellect. In their fall they inevitably tore down the other values which depended upon and were linked with them. In every direction the levelling process extends.

6

Man is the Measure of All Things. When such a belief becomes a dogma, an article of faith which dominates an epoch, and is regarded as needing no further proof, but is rooted firm in the human unconscious, no man can draw wholly clear of its power. Every single person in this epoch bears this belief within him, and acts accordingly.

It is important to establish this, for, according to the description already given, the levelling of authority and value divided men into two camps, and they stood apart like enemies, and later began fighting. And it was only in the course of the fight that the hierarchy broke down. There were questioner and questionee, son and father, layman and parson, defendant and judge, patient and doctor, uneducated and educated, and finally the poor and the rich. There were people who stood for the old order and fought for it, and in the political sense were therefore conservatives. And there were people who represented the new and fought for it, and were therefore in the political sense revolutionaries. And the externals of the process, which we see and experience all about us, correspond to this picture in black-and-white. The stage of Time and History ever displays some men standing at the barricades, and others being led to the scaffold.

The external picture, however, does not correspond to the inner essence of the process. The doctrine that man is the measure of all things has gripped not only that part of mankind which is raising Old Harry against the other part; it has gripped the whole of mankind, and thus every single human being is questioner and questionee, fighter and fought, conqueror and conquered at one and

the same moment. This internal picture presents a paradox, for it would mean that ultimately it is the same man who, in the intoxication of liberty, rips off the vestments and trappings of authority, in order to level out himself and fall stripped and naked into the "lostness" of a universe which can find no place for him. It would mean that the father, the parson, the judge, and the rich man are desperately defending themselves against the levellers with one part of their being, while the other part is supporting the attack. It would imply a man having split himself symbolically into two, each half fighting to the knife within his breast. Yet that is precisely the inner picture of the process which is revealing itself today.

Observe, for instance, that a man as father reacts passionately to his son's lack of respect; that as a magistrate he invokes the full penalty of the law, rejecting the humane appeal of the defendant's counsel; and as a man of substance resists all efforts designed to reduce his wealth. As a father, a magistrate, and a rich man, this man is a representative of the old authority, a conservative standing on the other side of the barricade and fighting desperately to maintain his position.

But he will only be attacked as the representative of authority. Elsewhere he himself becomes the cross-examiner, and mans the barricades. We need not advert to the banal case of a man supporting those who launch their assaults against other fathers, judges, and rich men, although it is common enough. Let us suppose the man is logically consistent as father, magistrate, and rich man, and as a matter of principle opposes rebellion against authority in these regions. None the less, there are other areas where he marches with the rebels. He may have spiritual, artistic, or literary interests. He admires certain plays, advocates a certain musical movement, buys pictures of a certain *genre*, or reads with pleasure "modern" books. Beyond the narrow area where he represents authority are tastes and interests among which he can move freely. Here he will often be found among the rebels ripping authority from representatives of the arts. He does not realise that in so doing he is attacking his own position, inasmuch as authority is a whole. But the unconscious depths of his being have absorbed the doctrine of the age; and thus he is really like a man passionately flaying himself and just as passionately defending himself against his flail—a paradoxical process characteristic today of man as a split being.

So long as the conflict remains unconscious, however, it may possess some value, since the man is but the instrument of a development stronger than himself. Should the division emerge into consciousness, it becomes false and cynical. Then we have the

domestic authoritarian who indulges in licence away from home; the magistrate who passes stern judgements on the Bench, and off it laughingly concedes the injustice of his pronouncements; or the rich man who makes himself cheap with his "free" functions and tastes.

It is important to call attention to the inner division because the external picture of the fight against authority suggests an urge from below upwards, a rebellion from the depths against the hierarchy. The fact that every man is swept into the rebellion, the representatives of authority being equally split in themselves, forces us to ask just where the roots of the development lie, where its causes are to be sought.

We have already said that it is something positive and valuable, the yearning for genuine values, the search for true authority which challenges the existing authority. The existing authority seems no longer to afford the peace and security needed to provide men with a sense of happiness and well-being. A change has taken place at the top of the hierarchy. What is pressing "from below upwards" is the response to signals coming "from above downwards". The first sign of change is to be sought at the peak of the hierarchy.

What has happened up there? The representatives of authority have lost their peaceful self-assurance, which was itself directed "upwards", and, obtaining its directions "from above", transmitted them downwards. Their conduct and bearing are no longer convincingly natural, no longer exclude doubts and questions. They assert their position strongly, because they feel it necessary to do so, but it is precisely this which shows their weakness. "I am the father here," they say; "I am the 'boss'," or "I've got the money!" And it sounds like Louis XIV's declaration, "L'état c'est moi!" But until now they possessed authority only because they were themselves subject to authority and dependent on it. They were in the service of something higher than themselves.

Take, for instance, the rich man. His riches were genuinely his own, and no one thought it unjust. But, then, he did not own his riches solely for himself. He was directed by a spirit, a culture, something situated above him and to which he gave reality by his wealth. The more cultural values he created, the more taste and knowledge he acquired, the more impersonal and neutral his wealth became. He had become the instrument of an idea, and despite the fact that he could afford whatever he desired, he was condemned to a certain measure of ascetism, without which no real authority can be established or upheld. Not a few rich men sacrificed their wealth to an ideal, devoted it to the service of the idea.

Jealousy and envy on the part of less richly endowed people were excluded even when the man enjoyed his wealth directly. The whole manner of his life was bound up with so many social duties that the common man observed with relief his own comparative freedom. For it is ridiculous to believe that the most select food and fine old wines are independent of a select and fine old culture of stomach and tongue. And it is even more ridiculous to suppose that fine living awakened jealousy among the social classes which lacked the taste for it. On the contrary, they desired to look "upwards" to a world above them, strange to them, and maybe barred to them, but a source of protection and security, because it carried more responsibility.

But the rich man's immediate relationship to authority, his devotion to cultural values and taste, began to wane. How and why this happened need not concern us here. When the rich man used to say, "I was able to acquire this Dürer here or there; this is a genuine Stradivarius; this wine has been lying now two decades in my cellar," he was referring to possessions which were values in themselves, and could only be enjoyed socially, and were respected communally. It was therefore a matter of indifference whose property they were. The owner had the care of them and bore the responsibility for them.

His immediate relationship with authority begins to weaken the moment the rich man no longer strives to make something better of himself and the world around him: a purpose requiring a consciousness of his own imperfection, based upon the recognition of something above him to which he is subordinate and towards which he must strive.

As wealth has a tendency to attract treasures to itself, the rich man who has lost contact with authority will continue to have things of value round him. The Dürer and the Stradivarius and the wine will remain his. But the direct inward relationship between him and these values has gone. He owns these things because he can afford to own them, but he no longer possesses them inwardly. They have become objects for him, among which, as subject, he wanders proud and self-conscious, whereas previously they were values whereof he was only incidentally the owner and himself but an object of the values.

When the "upward" look and consciousness of dependence begin to fail, the doctrine that man is the measure of all things revives. The rich man no longer acquires valuables for their own sake and for cultural ends, but for *his* own sake and to assert *his* personality and *his* value. "*I* am the owner of a Dürer!" he says. "*I*'ve got a

Stradivarius! *My* wines are simply marvellous!" For what the doctrine that man is the measure of all things generally means in practice is "I am the measure of all things!" Each individual translates it into personal terms.

The rich man, having adopted this doctrine, experiences an intoxicating expansion of liberty and personal power. He is exempt from the burdens and duties, the cares and responsibilities, the cultural training that in earlier times imposed a measure of asceticism upon him. He no longer depends upon authority, and in his independence can enjoy his wealth freely. He is standing at the peak of the hierarchy.

And at that same moment he has lost his own authority! He slides down to the level, and, grey and shapeless, the level floods upon him and sweeps him away. "I am the Measure of All Things!" says the rich man, and his neighbour, beside him but no longer under him, puts the counter-question, "Why are you the measure of all things? After all, you, too, are only a man." "I am rich!" replies the former. "Why are you rich while I am not, since we're both only men?" asks the other. So begins the process of Questioning and Levelling which ends in the rich man losing his wealth.

This process advances swiftly, but not as fast as a summary of it implies. As the representative of authority, wealth has a measure of gravity which maintains its existence even when the spirit has fled. And it is supported by the need and yearning of the lower strata of the hierarchy for authority above. For the existence of such authority gives them a measure of security, and, with it, of liberty. Responsibility is borne by others, and in general there is nothing men welcome more.

The "poor" man does not put his question at once, therefore, and does not put it frivolously either. He is more disposed to believe that everything is still in order at the top. History shows the patience with which, hopeful and uncomprehending, mankind bears and accepts a collapse at the peak of the hierarchy.

Only when the collapse is far advanced, and is creating widespread insecurity in the lower strata, does the revolt begin. And generally speaking, this also is staged and directed from above. It is the representatives of authority who fight within their own class for the purification of authority, whose voices are heard thundering below. When the hierarchy is failing, the moment comes when those of its representatives who are troubled by the collapse, and doubt whether they can prevent catastrophe by their own efforts, turn to the lower ranks, where respect for authority continues.

Inevitably this convulses such authority as remains below, and

serves only to make the collapse worse. The apprentice-sorcerer who conjures up these spirits will never be rid of them, and they will finally demand him as a sacrificial victim. The only escape for the better elements at the top is the upward road; that is to say, the road of self-denial and asceticism. Their failure to take it shows that they already bear within them the germ of corruption.

At a more advanced stage in the process the rich man grows weary of his wealth, his freedom and independence, and steers open-eyed to destruction. Without any relationship to culture, wealth becomes valueless to its owner. Enjoyment soon leads to boredom, and drives the rich man to extend the frontiers of his freedom ever wider. When in earlier times he brought up a dusty old bottle from his cellar to celebrate it was on a special occasion. Now he perhaps has to bathe in old champagne to persuade himself that he is doing anything out of the ordinary. As a representative of wealth he is certainly always on guard against an assault, but he can no longer throw the whole weight of his personality into the defence. He is split into a man who desires to preserve his wealth and fears nothing so much as the possibility of losing it, and a man who is weary of freedom and unconsciously wills the annihilation of the wealth that sustains it. This second man waves the banner of revolt, and extends its spirit among those below him, as yesterday he taught them to value authority. It is in his drawing-room that the ideas of revolt are coined, which will destroy him. At the theatre he applauds *Figaro* and rejoices to see his own hollowness depicted. The intoxication of freedom is brief and treacherous. When men no longer look upward they sink into boredom, and from the dull emptiness of existence, the urge to self-annihilation, the dark desire for death, arises.

For those at the peak of the hierarchy it is far more difficult to feel imperfect and dependent and to maintain a consistent effort "upwards" than for one domiciled on the human lowlands. The representatives of authority, all too easily, confuse themselves with the authority. The works of intellect and culture are gathered around them, the treasure of wealth lies in their coffers, and they can virtually do as they like. Those below show them a respect which rightly belongs to authority itself, but which naturally fastens on its visible representatives. The representatives have only a delegated authority, their task being to mediate the higher values to those below them; but they are easily beset by the temptation expressed in the words of Louis XIV, "*L'autorité c'est moi!*"; to say, "I am the measure of all things!"

It is needless to point out that this autocratic smugness does not

correspond to man's nature, since he is an imperfect and developing being. The temptation to self-importance increases with the growth of the hierarchy, in the sense that the spirit is always creating new works which enlarge the cultural realm. The sense of dependence slowly gives way to boastfulness, like Polycrates', "All this is subject to me!" And the proud awareness of having brought it all to pass closes the upward road.

Then begins the descent and the levelling out, and a fearful judgement falls on the representative of authority. The convulsion is most frightful on the heights of humanity, but not confined to them. Authority has a mysterious quality. It is a quietly self-contained power. Anyone who draws near with clean hands notices only the stillness of the power. But if it be touched with unclean hands, a discharge which, like a volcanic earthquake, can shatter the foundations of a whole civilisation, ensues. And impurity in this sphere means failure to serve a higher purpose than the self, failure to mediate the values of a culture to those below. When this selfless and impersonal quality is lacking at the top, when man becomes the measure of all things, the great thaw-melting of values begins, to end in a flat uniformity.

7

In the great convulsions by which man is seized, and in which he is simultaneously both subject and object, destiny accords him the inestimable blessing of self-deception. He strides with benevolent blindness through these developments, like a sleep-walker across a precipice which cloud mercifully enshrouds. For it is not true that the fight against authority is ended when the Level has been reached and the hierarchy swept away. And it is not true that the great dream of the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of all men is thereby realised.

The Level was to bring quiet, but instead has brought disillusionment. The Level was to bring peace, but the fight is not yet ended. On the contrary, it is raging harder and more inexorably around man than ever before, and only now enfolds him with all its dæmonic force.

For each one of the new Free Men and Equals is now quite certain that he himself is the Measure of All Things. So it has been in the whole developing process of the disintegration of the hierarchy: the next lowest gradation has always promptly blossomed after the destruction of the one above, and fallen into the same error. And the closer the process drew to the base of the pyramid, the greater became the number of those who assumed the mantle of autocracy.

On the Level, every man has now become smugly Autocratic and the Measure of All Things. Everyone is at one and the same moment both the apex and the base of the pyramid. The level has certainly brought equality, but not liberty, for penned into the mass of his equals a man's own place has dwindled to the infinitesimal. And in these narrow straits where each man pushes and struggles and in which each single person has to guard and keep the little scrap of authority he has rescued for himself, Fraternity has not been realised. Indeed, the battle has only now attained its height, and has become a battle of man against man, a battle of each against all, prosecuted with gruesome cruelty.

Under the ægis of authority, it was needless to assert one's own personality, so long as the way upwards through the mediacy of all the grades was not interrupted and caged off. Within this hierarchy each grade, and each person within it, perceived the confirmation of his or her self from above; and as they were grouped together beneath the same authority, no conflict ensued, and each man had his place, and knew to what end he was living. On the level, however, the affirmation of one's self has become cardinal. For each man has to demonstrate to himself and others that he is free and independent; that is to say, he needs confirmation, and it can no longer reach him from above. But his fellow-man is in exactly the same position. He, too, is asking for reaffirmation of his own self. And they are unwilling to grant each other this mutual reaffirmation, because in so doing they always surrender a bit of their own authority. And so the individual who a moment ago was the Measure of All Things, and in the intoxication of liberty perceived a mighty extension of his being, suddenly finds himself in the position of having no one left to reassure him, to tell him who he is, why he is living, and what is the meaning of his existence.

It is an extremely painful and shattering experience, and shakes the very foundations of existence. But it is not in any sense an academic matter, such as besets the man who is accustomed to philosophic thinking. It troubles the cinema commissionaire whose coat bears more gold and frogging than a Chancellor of State was wont to wear, but who is none the less shoved and hammered, jostled and pushed by the surging crowd, as if he were next to nothing. It troubles the cook who sweatily dishes out his bad meat-broths, rinses cups, and makes sure the customers pay. He stands alone in the midst of many who gulp down their broth and throw money on the table, but scarcely notice the man himself.

Whence and through whom is man upon the Level to obtain confirmation of himself? A return to the old authority is impossible.

Only one's fellow creature can give the desired confirmation, and as he will not give it voluntarily, he must be compelled to do so by force. The situation is similar to the one in which Louis XIV coined the astonishing remark, "*I am the State*". Then one man said it, but on the Level millions are motivated by it; millions of men do struggle for power in order to force others to recognise and confirm their personalities.

The course of development which began with questioning authority is not complete with the destruction of authority, but has then only entered the dæmonic stage, the battle of all against all, in which man and his fellow-man endeavour mutually to destroy each other.

The battle necessarily assumes a veiled and secretive form, since everybody refuses to put on the emblems of the old hierarchy, which would present a nice convenient target. The religious, intellectual, political, economic, and social forms of the battle pass, and it presses through into the most private spheres of personality, into the moral and spiritual, into the realm of the individual unconscious. One man pursues another into the most secret chamber of his being, and drags its contents into the daylight of publicity, in order to show that his neighbour has no right to feel equal, let alone superior, while asserting himself in the process. No means of destruction is left untried in the struggle, and every means is permitted.

It is now clear that the man on the Level has not retained a scrap of the genuine authority from the assault on the hierarchy, but has assumed that outmoded and collapsed kind of smug autocracy which can be affirmed and secured only by force. In so doing he has assumed the destiny of the upper grades of the hierarchy to whose destruction he contributed, and is himself going on to meet his fate.

8

If things remained as they seem when the Level has been reached, one could only say that the revolution ushered in by the Question about Man will probably end with the annihilation of the human species.

It created a world in which people stand against people, man against man; in which every man has to fight, regardless of all else, to gain power, and in which no man hesitates to employ power, just as regardless, against his fellow-men; in which the air has been foully infected with evil rumours and slanders, with calumny and suspicion, and in which man's value is ever more rapidly sinking to a level beneath that of the animal creation.

In the course of this development two most important modifica-

tions have occurred, which might be regarded as Fate's tragic irony, if there were not manifestly a deeper significance in them. At some point the phenomenon of authority is transformed into the phenomenon of power, which has manifested itself most forcibly upon the Level. The farther down authority sinks, the more clearly does it change into power. And the more generally the doctrine that man is the measure of all things is accepted, the lower does the value of man fall, until it approaches the level of Absolute Zero.

Power becomes the sole visible and accepted value. The Level is the Cradle of Cæsarism. In it are born Cæsars, who suddenly raise themselves above the tumult of the market-place and offer the masses the spectacle of a brief bitter struggle until one finally triumphs and, as a blazing star, begins his lonely trajectory across the firmament. It is an error to evaluate the Cæsars highly, however, for theirs is always a domination over nothing, over the chaos of nihilism, only raised upon the rubble and ruins of the human image.

Man is no longer elated by what he has won, but is gradually beginning to notice what he has lost through the destruction of the old order.

It is not a question of things material or social merely. Many inescapable problems now arise which once seemed firmly settled. Children are born and must be brought up. How are they to be trained ? The sexes find the way to meet. How are they to treat each other ? How are marriages to be managed, and what is to be the basis of the family ? The old rules and conventions have broken down. Should one let one's children grow up " wild " ? Should one advocate free love, and relegate marriage and the family to the rubbish-heap ? Or should one seek out new regulations and conventions ? And other problems crop up. Those relating to Age and Illness, and Death, for instance.

Youth can maintain itself upon the Level in the plentitude of its strength. But man grows older, grows weaker, and must one day die. How do things stand now with Age, and Illness, and Death ? Is the old man to peg out like an old ox drawing back into his corner, thrust out of the herd or mangled ? Is the sick man to be segregated behind the high walls of hospitals, and given the merciful squirt with a hypodermic if his illness lasts too long or seems incurable ? And how stand things with death ? Is it the end of it all or not the end ? Is there a " Hereafter ", and of what sort ? These problems, pertaining to man's very essence, now press heavily and directly on each individual man, and demand an answer. Man is now really naked and unadorned, exposed in a universe which will not support him as it does the animals, but against which he stands alone, the

unfinished and imperfect being, the " as yet undefined animal ", as Nietzsche expressed it.

One thing becomes clear: liberty, which destroys authority and levels out the hierarchy, is only made possible and given some security by the old authority. What has been destroyed still exists in the consciousness of those carrying out the destruction. While they are destroying the pillars of the old cupola, they fancy themselves to be still in the shelter of the edifice. The liberty here experienced is the liberty of transition. What is being destroyed itself still gives security to the work of destruction and those who are engaged in it. But when the Level has been reached and the consciousness of the destruction of the old hierarchy dawns, the transitional liberty also begins to weaken, and anxiety mounts.

9

What is man ?—This question can no longer be put to another man. The point has now been reached where man in the seclusion of his own being asks himself, " Who am I, to what end am I living, and what is the meaning of my existence ? " Just as the intoxication of liberty was general and total, so now the anguish of liberty is becoming general and total. Parents, wife, and children cannot give an answer to it; the significance of the family has become too weak. One's profession, hitherto the strongest answer to this question, has been destroyed and flattened out; no human existence can still be built up thereon. Unemployment has in a brief period thrown millions of men into nothingness; and it can come upon man anew at any moment. Work itself has become mechanical and meaningless. The respect of the Other Man is no longer available. The material prospects are scanty and uncertain. The times in which money and property bestowed on one peace and security have long gone by. Money is often devalued, property is frequently lost. Wealth flees in panic anguish through the world, without finding any security. The spirit which once lent glitter and contentment to life has fled.

Who am I, to what end am I alive, and what is the meaning of my existence ?—It is a long path that has led us to this question. History is a record of man's continuous running away in front of himself, and of the enormous way round he has to go to get back to himself. It is ever the external, the other, the unaccustomed, towards which man is directed and before which he is able to forget himself, and it needs a mighty expenditure of time and energy to lead man to the point where he meets questions and tries to answer himself. This " Meeting One's Own Self " means that there is " No Other Way Out ".

Questioning himself in this isolation, man soon appears to have found an answer which frees him from his insecurity. But the first direct replies soon break down, and the question falls like a stone into the depths of his soul, the circles which it sends to the surface of his life growing wider and wider.

In the first stage of the historic process, when the Other Man was questioned, man received no answer, but—something happened. The Other Man broke down, and was transformed into something else. Now when man questions himself he will likewise receive no answer, but something will again happen—he will himself break down, and be transformed into something else.

In fact, to the question itself, which is the most natural and radical question man can put, there is no answer man can give. That indeed, is what constitutes its radical nature. He is now at the beginning of the second stage of the historic development, standing under the shadow of Religion. But we are dealing here with an internal process, gripping the man again and again, and forcing him to resist the question, bringing him to a state of desperation at having no answer and knowing that he has none. The collapse of authority took decades and centuries; it embraced the destinies of millions. There is little reason to suppose that the second stage of the process will be different.

The way the question is put allows us to infer how far from an answer man still is. Put in the manner of one who believes in the possibility of an answer which will release him from despair, it shows that he still cherishes the doctrine of man being the measure of all things, and is convinced that he possesses the answer in himself. This is to be at the beginning of the developmental process, and he has first to learn by experience that mankind's most important questions do not get answered in words, but in a quite other and wordless manner and from a completely different depth of being.

The inner lack of security, for instance, may be overcome in a quite different manner from finding an answer in abstract words. A man can endure the internal convulsion without asking about its Whence and Whither; he can bear it, accept it, and suffer it without having the desire to understand clearly, knowing that there cannot be an answer capable of granting final certainty. But when there is a permanent lack of security the convulsions which rise up every now and then from within or without do not penetrate so deep. Instead of hitting a stiff edifice of Security, they strike a loosened soil, which breaks down under the impact. Here deeper forces of man's being, capable of enduring the lack of security, are awake. "I am alive, I

know not for how long; I die, I know not when; I travel, I know not whither; I am wondering at my being so happy."

If, then, the man of today assumes that an answer to the problem of his being can be found which will relieve him of insecurity, he thereby characterises himself as a Transition Man who has not yet learnt that such questions cannot be answered with words, but only by an inner transformation of the man himself. The Word must once again become Flesh, and the way is: Stand fast in uncertainty and stand up to suffering!

Man is not only a being directed outwardly, who projects everything which excites him into his own little circumjacent world, in order to experience it and suffer it in an apparently alien form; he is also the being who flees from suffering, and at the end of all endurance is susceptible to change and a transformation of his being. This inner transformation is most painful to him, because it involves renunciation of certain conceptions of his being upon which he has built up his existence. It can therefore be prophesied that he will take many by-ways and accept many answers which promise to lead him out of his impasse and offer the semblance of peace and security. He will endeavour to re-erect broken-down grades of the former hierarchy, well knowing that the conditions for them have gone. He will endeavour to create a new sham-authority and a new sham-hierarchy, and provide them with all means of securing acceptance, well knowing that they possess no genuine authority, but only force.

There are, however, other methods of avoiding the convulsion caused by lack of security. Man can dope himself in various ways, or simply refuse to think. He can also work himself into a state of artificial intoxication. He can undertake crusades and join Flagellant Processions. He can stone heretics and burn witches. There is no means which a man in anguish leaves untried for tormenting himself and other people, and it can be safely prophesied that anguish will make him try everything.

10

It is one of the peculiarities of our era that the greatest pains are taken to suppress the emergence of the question which disturbs, convulses, and torments everybody. Man fears to admit his inner lack of certainty, and tries to smother it with an assurance calculated to deceive others and, in the end, himself also. It resembles the habit, also widespread, of endeavouring to transform death by painting the corpse so as to imitate life.

But once the question has reared its head it cannot be pushed

aside, and since modern man lacks the inner strength to answer it, he has to suffer it in the impasse of his existence, from which he can escape only by a painful process of inner transformation. We live amid the bankruptcy of intellectual thought which has for centuries excited and absorbed Western man, and in a period of historic transition; from the last and most violent of revolutions, with its focus in the West, but stretching out thence to embrace and convulse the whole world, to a new religious event, which is coming upon us but slowly.

It is true that little of the religious development yet appears. But the question "What must I do to be saved?" addressed by the layman to the parson, seemed innocuous and proved revolutionary, and when the question about the ground and meaning of human existence is thrust back upon the individual, it will be found to have consequences of the widest scope. Spiritual affairs have their own laws, which are as infrangible as those of Nature.

Once the question is raised, man cannot reach a state of stability until he has mastered it. But inasmuch as it cannot be answered by logic, it drives him down into ever darker depths of his being, until he learns by painful experience that it is part of the nature of man to be unable to answer this question himself. His cognitive powers do not afford him knowledge of the meaning of his existence, but only allow him to perceive that he is an unfinished being, who can but hope to acquire perfection in the course of his development. This leads him to surrender the proposition that he is himself forsooth the Measure of All Things, and inclines him to modesty and humility. But modesty and humility are bridges which logically and immutably lead one over into the sphere of the Religious. Man begins once more to realise that his self-satisfaction, his absoluteness, and his autonomy stand on weak foundations and his existence cannot be based upon them. He suspects that he is subordinated to a Higher Power, and slowly acquires once more an understanding of his dependence.

Revolution and religion are very close together, and modern man is torn between them. He overthrows what remains of authority only to be confronted by questions which bring him back to religion. He is passing through an historic transition so vast that it can be compared only with that undergone in the first centuries of our epoch, or the transition between the Middle Ages and modern times.

The division between revolution and religion in a transition age runs through each individual, and he cannot escape his historic destiny. Hence man today is a split personality. The battle is being waged within him, just as it is in the world around.

Revolution which storms the cloisters, persecutes the priests,

and dishonours the Most Holy Things, appears to be manifestly opposed to God, and when it is successful, looks like a denial of God, yet it is the instrument of His will. Even the leaders who overflow with energy and efficiency have a marionettish air, as though their movements were controlled from " above ". So much is recognised by de Maistre: [1]

> " The closer one sees the men who are clearly leaders of the Revolution ", he writes, " the more one finds something passive and mechanical about them. It cannot be too often repeated that it is not the men who make revolutions, but revolutions which use the men. A revolution, it has been rightly said, goes by itself. The phrase means that God is clearly revealed in the event. If the worst implements are employed it is by way of castigation and to secure improvement."

It is its task to destroy the well-secured authority and the well-accommodated hierarchy which erect themselves as an impassable barrier between man and God, by which the vital exchange from Above to Below and from Below to Above are interrupted. And it is its task to re-establish the vital exchange, by driving man out of his false certainty and security, and leading him back to the uncertainty and insecurity in the midst of the universe which is an essential part of his destiny. The closer revolution draws to its goal, the more clearly and distinctly man rises up again. But the more distinctly man arises, the more clearly does the Image of God reveal itself, without which he is unable to endure himself and his existence, and without which he must sink into nothingness.

The questioning about the nature of man which is arising from all quarters today shows that, after the destruction of the old order and authority, man is beginning to step out into the open, and to feel himself naked before the Being who rests still and silent Opposite, and contemplates him.

The revolution of today is not comparable with any known to us from History. The upper grades are not being attacked and destroyed from below, but it rages on the Level between man and man, and comes to fullness inside each individual, biting immediately and deeply into man's being, and is striving towards a new man, a new world, and a new life.

It is possible that revolution has a long way yet to go, that these are but the first squalls which have roared over us, to be followed by other and heavier storms. We do not know how far man has

[1] Joseph de Maistre: *Considerations upon France.*

departed from God, or what he has to destroy to open the way back. We are only beginning once more to have an inkling of the nature of that "Opposite" called God, and of the mysterious mutual and variable interrelationship between Him and the soul of man; and we cannot say in what form He is to manifest Himself again to us. We know as yet but the one thing: that man is again beginning to question himself, and in so doing is setting himself on the way to discovering the Order in which his nature was set from the beginning and from which he cannot possibly escape. As Donoso Cortes [1] puts it:

> "It was forbidden him to hold up the inevitable execution of the basic laws of the physical and moral world, laws which are the foundation of Order among mankind and in the universe. That man, having departed from Order through the doorway of Sin, should return to Order by any other way than through the gate of Punishment, is something the world has not yet seen and never will see. Punishment is God's Envoy. It comes to all men, and brings to all men news of Him."

II

As long as the hierarchy existed, the Word possessed authority, and traditions still had power, so long could man in the West appeal to history to tell him whence he came and whither he was going. The collapse of the hierarchy brought down this authority also, which unites within itself the sum of all traditions. History has lost its grace and its liberating power of giving certainty to man. Some hundreds of generations have been conditioned by it. It provided a form before which Past and Present lay spread out as on a wide table, and afforded man a high degree of assurance in which to prosecute his affairs.

Today one can only interpret man and the age we live in from the depths of the soul, in the place where one's destiny and future are being made, and where guilt and retribution mysteriously intertwine.

The deeper one digs down into the soul of man, which is to say the deeper man goes into his own self, the more do Past and Future crumple together into a living unit of the Present; Time and History lose their objective quality, and centuries become as days. In the depths of man's soul Time is extinguished. Events which lie centuries back are there living and effective. The path which led the man of the West to the Level, as we explained earlier, began at the peak of the hierarchy, when authority lapsed into complacent

[1] *God's State.*

autocracy and established itself as absolute and autonomous. Historically it can be dated nearly a thousand years ago, when the strife between Emperor and Pope led in 1075 to the Twenty-Seven Theses of Gregory VII, the " Dictatus Papae ". Gregory, who was called " Holy Satan ", claimed entire and absolute sovereignty over the Church, and set up a programme which the churches in a tight ring carried into effect. Its fulfilment was crowned by the Bull " Unam Sanctam " of 1308. The Pope thereby assumed the place of God, and claimed to wield the Spiritual Sword, to rule over Emperors and Kings and all mankind; to be Christ's Deputy on earth.

From thence onwards revolution started in the countries of the West and the levelling process and removal of the hierarchy began. The free and direct way " upwards " had been barred and locked. Petrus Crassus, an Imperial jurist, of the time, described the newly emergent human type of the revolution.

> " Our age has to the misfortune of all others bred a new type of man. In behaviour and breeding the type is quite distinct from that of earlier periods, and one cannot tell whether Nature has here taken the wrong path in creation."

The revolution is typical of all that follow it. The forces released press expansively outwards in the form of intoxication, and inwardly exert a destructive force. Fire and sword were the escorts of that first revolution, which led outwards into the epoch of the Crusades, and, with the abominations of the Albigensian War, led inwards to the persecution and burning of " heretics " which occupied the West for centuries.

With this " Fall of Man " at the peak of the hierarchy the descent to the Level began. In setting himself in the place of God, the Pope gave the signal for every class to do likewise. " Why should *you* be God and not I ? " is a question before which title-deeds lose their force.

To be sure, the development now took two different paths, determined by the Pope's dual position, as head of united Christendom and recognised leader of the œcumenical world on the one hand, and as Master of Rome and Representative of all Italy on the other. This twin position of his dominates the course of development in the West. The two separate paths keep meeting and separating, but both lead to the same end. Man sets himself in the place of God, and thereby suffers the loss of the Image of Man.

On the first and shorter path the step of the Pope is of primarily national importance in the fight of Rome and Italy against the Emperor. Within the tiny limit of the Italian city-states and in a

comparatively brief period he reduces the hierarchy to the Level, the movement he initiated ending logically in the course of a few centuries in the Italian Renaissance, which gave reality to the ideal image of free autonomous and proudly autocratic Man ; the Man-God.

The Italian Renaissance laid the foundations of modern life. Today its language is spoken on the streets and in the market-places of our western world. It created the ideas and works which have ever and again been imitated, completed, perfected, and brought to realisation. It may therefore be regarded as the start of the modern Europe, and Renaissance Man as the prototype of all those who are still disintegrating the hierarchy and have not yet reached the Level. Until quite recently modern history described the magnificent intoxication of the Renaissance, but remained silent about the despair in which it ended, the ruin of cities and people which it brought to pass, the grievous political fate of those brilliant city-states which were rubbed to pieces in the friction between France and Spain, the great Powers of the time.

The path from the " Dictatus Papae " to the collapse of the Italian Renaissance is the shorter of the two paths leading from the apex of the hierarchy down to the Level. The course followed in Italy can be used as a model from which the course of the other and longer path pursued by the whole of the West can be forecast. Movement here is slower and more ponderous. Only in our day has the level been reached and the destruction of the Image of Man been consummated. As four hundred years ago in Venice, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Rome men stared into the void, so their descendants in Berlin, Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, and Zurich do today. Then the shadows of the two great Powers, France and Spain, fell across the gaily-coloured life of the Renaissance. Today it is the shadows of the two great World Powers, America and Russia, which fall on the multi-coloured gaiety of life in Europe. The might of the *condottieri* is drawing to its end. The colours of the artist and the verses of the poet are drying up. The funeral-pyre of Savonarola begins to flicker.

The smug autocracy introduced by Gregory as the Head of Christianity was answered by Luther in his 95 Theses. This reply, given in 1517, came nearly half a millennium later. With it began the Second Revolution in the West, the claim to sovereignty and absolutism of the next lowest grade, initiating the gay autocracy of Kings and Princes " by the Grace of God ". First the Pope had put himself in the place of God and eliminated the Emperor, and then the next grade asked, " Why you and not me ? " The man from Wittenberg made himself the spokesman of this fermentation

within the hierarchy, and fought to recreate every man's direct free access Above.

But the avalanche, which had started rolling from the apex, was waxing greater and beginning to roll over the gradations of the hierarchy. The next below, the Kings and Princes, took the words out of his mouth and employed them to establish their own sovereignty. The place of God the Father began to be taken by the "Father of his Country" as the highest dignitary, who was at pains to make use of clothes, lace, gold sticks, and a flowing wig all round his face to the end that at least outwardly he should look the part.

The process continues in the West and repeats itself with monotonous uniformity: every grade which has laid the foundations of its own sovereignty is challenged by the grade below, and the questioning continues until collapse comes. And each country where such a class-change occurs becomes the pioneer for all the other Western countries.

In England the country gentleman of 1648 questioned the existing order, and established the sovereignty of the British "gentry". In France the citizen world of 1787 questioned it, and established the glib autocracy of the "Third Estate", the *bourgeoisie*. In Russia the last class questioned it in 1917, and established the autonomy of the workers, the proletariat. Each revolution displaced one grade of the hierarchy and established the next below on the tatters of the authority which had been torn down. Each took the hierarchy a bit lower; but the whole process began with the man nearest God placing himself in God's place, thereby giving all other classes a pattern to follow.

It is unnecessary to indicate the similarities in all these revolutions. Each has its Crusades and Persecution of Heretics. Within them everybody talks alike and takes the same course. Each becomes representative for the West and drags all other countries down with it.

It is only because of its current news value that we mention the phenomenon of Fascism, an episode of two brief decades. The numerically not unimportant "little middle class", the "Third-and-a-Half Estate", which was rolling down to the Level, was in danger of being smothered between the *bourgeoisie* and the proletariat and deceived in its expectations. Fascism was its attempt to set itself similarly in the place of God and to comport itself with complacent autocracy. Clipped in between the Third and the Fourth Estate, this section of the population endeavoured to force its way forward, and, feeling itself threatened from above and from below, displayed at the same time both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary characteristics and petered out as a brief episode. None

the less it provided a sign and a warning that the dæmonic powers set loose by the collapse of authority have been " weighed in the balance and found wanting ".

The Russian Revolution—that of the proletariat—is political and social, the " total " world revolution which is to embrace the whole of mankind. In it the Level has finally been reached.

For the countries of the West, out of whose hands the doctrine of man being the measure of all things is slipping, it is, however, only " yesterday's revolution ", and is speedily losing its proselytising force. For Revolution lasts only so long as man is not seeking to establish himself—so long, that is to say, as he is drawing his strength from the destruction of the hierarchy. Once the hierarchy has been reduced, the intoxication which sustained him fades out.

Thus, from the standpoint of the West, the Russian Revolution only completed the overthrow of the hierarchy, and its significance must be sought within the framework of the nine centuries of dissolution. For the country which carried it through, however, it opened a door for her entry as a World Power in an epoch dominated by the conception of World Unity.

Many still at home in the historical past will be painfully troubled by the thought that it is not Europe which is bringing a unified world-culture to perfection. The rise of the two great Powers of our era certainly means the elimination of Europe from the major sphere of political influence. But the really important question before mankind is not if, and how, World Unity can be attained, but whether man will really find assurance and security in a culturally united world, or will, indeed, be able to live in it at all. The fact that the question about the nature of man is most pressingly felt by man in the West, and that he is more or less at home in a state of desperation, indicates that he will be the first to face the spiritual event which is slowly approaching us, and will assume a leading role in a new epoch concerned with the transformation of man himself.

Representatives of authority during the past nine centuries are still living round him. The Pope speaks to him. Kings and Princes address him. There are still country estates where the nobility reside. The *bourgeoisie* is still living in its villas. But the hierarchy today resembles one of those skyscrapers burnt out during the war. The skeleton of girder-work remains, a relic from the past, while life roars on the level through the streets and over the market squares below.

One great chapter of Western history ends with autonomous and self-sufficient man who has set himself in the place of God, but who has to find an answer to the question as to the nature and meaning of

human existence. At the conclusion of the new chapter which has only just been begun will be found the answer to this question, so long as the God-Man has not in the meantime succeeded in bringing us to the End of All History, thanks to his self-sufficient autocracy and material power.

Chapter

3

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CATASTROPHE

I

As an accepted doctrine "Man is the Measure of All Things" requires some intellectual basis. If we ask, "Why is Man the Measure of All Things?" the answer is ready to hand. Because, it is suggested, he possesses in consciousness a quality which distinguishes him above all other created beings, and makes him the Measure of Creation.

Understanding, reason, intelligence—use what term we will—is the strongest evidence of man's unique position, upon which his claim to be the Measure of Things is based. "Man has become like one of us; he knows Good and Evil," as the Creation-Myth in *Genesis* puts it. "Become like one of us" means that through his possession of consciousness man has become as God; he is now himself God, and, for that reason, the Measure of All Things.

Consciousness in the human sense is usually regarded as a stable and self-existent faculty. Whether this faculty has developed in the course of the last few centuries, creating itself, as it were, in a mutation of the cerebrum, or whether it has always existed but its power been discovered only in recent centuries, is not very clear. In any case, a quality of self-existence is attributed to consciousness which justifies Western man's reliance upon it. He has, indeed, virtually staked his whole existence upon its supremacy.

The validity of the belief, so vast in scope and importance, touches the deep mystery of man's being. Its nature is discussed more fully in a later chapter; here we need deal only briefly with the matter.

Man is both more and less than the Creation he sees around him. A being whose development has not yet been completed, he lacks perfect form, and is in that sense indefinable. Plants and animals, on the contrary, have reached a completed form, closely adjusted to the circumjacent world. They have so grown up with it that their inner life, their body, and the world without, constitute a Three-in-

One-ness, an inseparable unity. Within Natural Creation plants and animals are at home.

Man is not suited to the same extent to his environment. He stands outside the specialised perfection of animal instincts and bodily organs, and perceives in Natural Creation an alien Opposite.

The perception of the alien Opposite gives rise to anguish, that primeval emotion which is essentially and peculiarly his. Man is the only being to suffer anguish; and it constitutes the ante-room to consciousness. Due to the fact that he has fallen out of the security of Natural Creation, it means division and weakness. Instead of the unity of inner world, body and outer world, the In-Each-Other-ness in which plants and animals have remained, he experiences Outside-Each-Other-ness and Opposite-ness.

This Opposite is dark and unknown, a sinister principle which constrains man, by which he becomes obsessed, and by which he may be overpowered at any moment. His inner world is not directed by ingrained instincts, nor is his body provided with organs and faculties so adjusted to the external world as to offer him security of existence. He has to gain the world for himself, to earn it by hard work.

In this settlement with the alien circumjacent world two phenomena emerge which are peculiar to man and give him his unique position in Creation: Culture and Consciousness. Culture is that part of the natural circumjacent world which man made his own and freed from anguish by hard work. Consciousness is that part of his natural inner world which man has gained by hard work, and freed from anguish. Culture and Consciousness, then, cannot be separated, but mutually condition each other.

When man perceives with anguish the dark and sinister Opposite, he is already coming to terms with it, whether it assaults and overpowers him, or he actively advances and ventures to grasp it. He suffers it and is obsessed by it. Advancing upon the external world, or defending himself from its pressure, he experiences and apperceives it, and becomes conscious of his own self, active in it and suffering it. When he dares to grasp the Opposite and bit by bit to make it his own, he is creating around and within him a freedom, delivered from anguish.

Thus by a new man-made and labour-earned Three-In-One-ness, man attempts to win back the lost security of Natural Creation. This new and artificial (because man-made) Three-in-One-ness consists in the unity of Consciousness, of Instrument, and of Culture, where the consciousness corresponds to the inner world, the instrument to the body, and the culture to the natural world outside.

Man is thus conditioned by the fact that with one part of his being

he has fallen out of Creation's security, and must himself create the shell in which he can live and develop. As a fallen being, he is less than other living creatures, since he is unfinished and imperfect, while they are complete within the bounds of their own world. As a creative being, however, he is more than the created things around him, for with the phenomenal shapes of consciousness, of the instrument, and of culture, he introduces something new into the work of natural creation, a " Something Beyond ", which makes him an obsessive being—that is to say, the Lord of Creation.

Whence does he draw the power to maintain a contest with the world and free himself from anguish ? Manifestly the " something more " is within. In direct opposition to plants and animals, he has retained free, unfettered, shape-giving powers which are oriented to the goal of his ultimate perfection. He is the one being who remains in a state of becoming and transformation, and is only to be understood as something in course of development towards an end. It is this Not-Yet-Realised quality in him which constitutes the " Something Beyond " which distinguishes him from the rest of Creation ; and it is from this still unmortgaged inner surplus that the power of coming to terms with the world grows up.

And yet his path through the millennia shows that it is not only by daring to set himself in opposition to Creation and come to terms with it that he stands, but that he is supported by other forces. As part of a community he finds a certain amount of security and relief from anguish. All man's experiences and adventures, acts and behaviour, as far back as we can trace, have a collective character, and are expressions of a society in which man does not yet exist as an individual, but functions as a member of a great body which includes within itself all his progenitors. This " Great Body " is like a beehive or an ant-heap, it is inextricably interplaited within itself and clamped together, and by dint of collective concentration and ratification it appoints from among itself separate individuals as leaders, who as priests or chiefs begin to show the outlines of man's image current among us today. The combination and joint strength of many men is needed to create the individual man.

The individuals, priests, and chieftains whom the collective body has produced, function only as the organs of the collective body, which must regulate its behaviour in accordance with the world around it. A being like man, who is still developing, depends wholly upon not losing his way, of keeping his goal in sight, for when he departs from the Will of Creation he is exposed to counter-strokes which may destroy him.

Observing and regulating the collective body's behaviour and its

relationship with the world around it, and making its path sure, is the task and function of the individuals, and only as they successfully achieve this do they obtain confirmation by the collective body. They do not therefore possess validity of themselves, but are valid only as mediators towards the dark Opposite, face to face with which man finds himself. The priest or chieftain whom the collective body appoints as an individual, therefore, does not bear the features of a sovereign despot, but fulfils an important function and is charged with enormous responsibility.

The collective body places the individual before the dark Opposite which was originally everything in the world around man. The primal anguish must therefore have been enormous. To venture forward required something more than a response to the image of perfection towards which man is oriented. Indeed, the sense of imperfection is not self-explanatory, but arises from experience of another invisible but vital and effective power which he knows to be in possession of perfection. He perceives that he is working reciprocally with this power, is correlated to it, and that it affords him power when he stands in unison with it, and refuses itself to him whenever the relationship is broken off. This vital power men have named " God ".

The whole process of coming to terms with the external world, through which Culture and Consciousness arose, took place in the course of man's struggle around the Godly Opposite, and with the help of the strength which flowed into him when he set himself in unison with the Opposite. Thus all Culture had from its inception a sacramental character, and is indistinguishable from the Cult. Behind everything—tree, stream, plant, or animal—the Godly Opposite was hidden. The thing itself was only an allegory. The Godly Opposite was reality. One can therefore say that man's circumjacent world has been given him, and freed from anguish, by God alone.

The individual whose task was to maintain the relationship of the collective body with the Godly Opposite acted only as a mediator who interpreted the signs and transmitted instructions. The separation of the functions of priest and chieftain marks the attainment of a certain degree of liberty. The security and behaviour of the collective body inside the area it had made its own presented new tasks, and the functions of chieftain and priest emerged, the former possessing the power and the second the authority.

The more the area of man's freedom extends the more does the Godly Opposite lift himself out of the things in the world around and leave them to man. At the same time, however, the Godly Opposite

increases in clarity as an image, until it concentrates itself into the figure of a god. Thus the Godly Opposite does not merely bring to man the strength for the appropriation of the external world, but reveals itself to man ever more clearly in the process.

Man placed as an individual before the Opposite that is the One Living God, intent on drawing near to Him in reciprocal working, in order to attain the perfection of his nature and the peace of existence—this is the only meaning which the development of man has revealed so far. It is as much as man knows of himself and the task allotted to him.

2

The external possession of man is Culture, its internal mirror-image is Consciousness. Inner and outer are complementary and inseparable. Man's consciousness is conditioned by the image of the world well earned and made his own.

If the meaning of human development is that individual man, placed before the Living Opposite, should approach the full perfection of his nature, then Culture and Consciousness can only be fluid quantities, representing no reality of their own, but providing a means to an end.

This is clear from the very fact that neither of them overlaps completely the whole of the outer and inner world. Culture is not identical with the world, nor is Being Conscious identical with the Being of Man. Around the world conditioned by culture and consciousness lies that other dark and unknown world which man encounters as a nameless and shapeless Opposite. At any moment this world may break into the area of culture and consciousness with destructive force, and the old anguish may recur. Such an irruption may come from without, from the world of Natural Creation, and annihilate man's artificial world. It can also come from within, from man's being, and flood out the area of his consciousness, thereby destroying his culture.

From the recognition of this position man has always concluded that he cannot make his existence wholly dependent upon culture and consciousness, but needs another basis. Hence he has sought to bend his freedom to the power which he sensed as godly and knew to be as vital in the world of Nature as in the hidden depths of his own being.

At the peak-point of human development man leaves culture and consciousness behind him and betakes himself into the realm of the Not-Yet-Realised, where, stripped of all things, he can draw near to the Power opposite him. It is only in this phase of human

development, when the individual takes station before his Godly Opposite, that the "Something More" and "Something Beyond" which have been plotted out in man are realised, producing a change in his nature.

The path into the Untried, which begins at the peak of the human hierarchy, is marked out by all religions, which can, in consequence, never regard culture and consciousness as reality, but only as an allegory. This truth finds clearest expression in the three stages of the classical Indian scheme of learning. The young Brahmin was until the age of about twenty educated by a Brahmin. As a man he then devoted himself until the age of about forty-five to the things of this world; he founded a family, attended to his profession, and developed culture and consciousness. Thereafter, however, he cut himself free from his past life and betook himself as a hermit into the forests, or attached himself to some monastery, in order to devote himself to his own development. The Christian faith has also been indifferent to the things pertaining to culture and consciousness, since the Kingdom of God, to which it is directed, lies on the far side of earthly activity. Therefore the Christian, too, can look upon culture and consciousness as an allegory, possessed of value only as they help to set the individual before God.

As culture and consciousness grow, however, the temptation for man to put them on a level with the whole of the world and of Being, and to attribute to them a right and reality of their own, increases. The feeling for the Godly Opposite fades out, and with it the image of unattained perfection. Culture no longer points to something beyond, needing to be realised, but calls attention to itself, and affirms the consciousness of man who created it. The view that man has reached the end of the path, as a perfected being, would become acceptable. Being and Being-Conscious would coincide in the same way as Creation and Culture; and man would attain the peace and security of a state of being in which there is no more anguish. He would have returned to that Three-In-One-ness out of which he had emerged.

The temptation is greatest when culture and consciousness have developed to a point where they actually embrace a large part of the world and of mankind; so that man's sense of anguish is dimmed, his watchfulness slumbers, and his knowledge of his limitations becomes blurred. He finds himself in a world so shaped by the collective efforts of innumerable generations that it ceases to be alien and hostile, and gives him security. Losing its mediatory and allegorical character, and no longer pointing to the other world, it receives, by a procedure into which we shall have to inquire more

closely, the power to confirm man by itself alone; it tells him, "You are you!" and removes the metaphysical uncertainty and lack of security of his being. Placed in a world which is divested of its darkness and mystery, he loses the feeling of his imperfection; but with it he loses also his connection with that Perfected Being opposite him, and his knowledge of the meaning of existence.

If culture and consciousness were truly qualities existing by their own right and capable of maintaining themselves as autonomous realities, this procedure would not be important. Man would then simply remain at the altitude he had reached, and would himself have become a stable being. But culture and consciousness are unstable qualities, neither existent by their own strength nor borne up by the will of Creation. They depend upon man's power to bear them and nourish them, and they collapse the moment that his power begins to relax.

And the power does begin to fade the instant that man ascribes to it a real existence and hangs his own existence upon it. For this inner energy was not directed towards culture and consciousness, but towards the Godly Opposite, whom man was seeking to approach more closely. The measure of what was moving in man was greater and more important than the sum total of actual toil, which was really nothing but the transit-station. If he makes the whole of his existence dependent upon the pseudo-reality of culture, he is drawing his strength from the works which he himself has created, and which demand of him the power for their maintenance. Thus we get the vicious circle that what demands man's strength in order to be maintained, has first to give him the strength to carry out the task.

Once man has gotten into that vicious circle the decline of culture and consciousness begins. The decline will not be apparent while man can still draw liberally from the reservoir of strength the preceding generations have stored up; but the collapse is swift and catastrophic when the reserves become low.

The essential Being of man, which is centred upon a different image of perfection from any that consciousness can show it, will set itself upon the defensive. It will not only withdraw the psychic energies it has previously supplied to man, but will turn those energies against the partial image of man and of the world which is presented to him as being the ultimate reality. Man will thus become a split being. As a conscious being, he will cling to the world of his culture, because it bears him and affirms him; but at the same time, as a being unconscious and held a prisoner of Being, he will store within himself forces which turn against culture, and will

strive ever harder to be free of it, because it impedes the image of his nature's perfection deep within him.

Thus, in constituting himself Sole Master of Creation and Measure of All Things, man prepares for his decline, a catastrophe more or less serious in proportion to the height of the culture concerned. It is a catastrophe, however, only from the viewpoint of the world of culture and consciousness, both of which will be destroyed and reconstructed. From the standpoint of true Being it is only an allegory, pointing to the renewal of the human image and the re-emergence of the Godly Opposite.

The closer man gets to the goal of his perfection, the greater the risks he runs, since temptation rises equally. Religious tradition has preserved the knowledge that every form of culture must end in a catastrophe, that the catastrophe must occur at the culture's peak-point, and that the higher the peak, the more violent must be the catastrophe. Even the Christian view of history takes this into account, for at the end of historical development it makes Anti-Christ appear, to whom power is given to produce signs and work wonders for the tempting of man. And all men will turn to him, save for a small residue who remain strong and await the due end of History and the transformation of the world and of man.

Independently of truths found in our religious heritage, profane historical tradition chronicles the same phenomenon. Humanity has produced an imposing number of high cultures, which have always displayed at the peak-points of their developments the same process of decline and collapse. Substituting culture and consciousness for Creation and Being, and losing the faculty of wisely apperceiving the Godly Opposite, man could no longer maintain himself and his works.

3

The causes of historical catastrophe can be more closely defined.

Human development served and conditioned by culture and consciousness has so far possessed a single meaning: that of making manifest the stature of the living God, and of setting man as an individual free from threats and danger from his environment in front of this Opposite. We may therefore infer that the peculiar transformation of man and the perfecting of his being will only be fully realised within the limits of that polarity and in reciprocal action between God and the individual soul.

The figure of the individual thereby becomes of paramount significance. The whole vast course of human development, with its enormous sacrifices and sufferings, would have served the single

end of creating the individual, and putting him before the Opposite of the One God; and it would only be through him, the individual, that man draws closer to the goal of his journey. The human species would in that case present the image of a natural hierarchy, a pyramid, at the peak of which would stand the Individual.

But this elevation of the individual man, which must make him giddy, is compensated by an equally enormous afflation. For the collective body created the individual solely as an organ of the community, to observe, to regulate, and to guarantee its relationship with the Godly "Opposite", and not as a *persona* existent by his own right.

It is immensely daring in man as an individual to fix his eyes upon the Godly Opposite; it is a stupendous destiny to fall into the hands of the Living God and be committed to the task of transforming one's own being. Confirmation by the collective body, and the tradition of the means in culture and consciousness, raised the individual to a height from whence he dared direct his gaze upon the Living Opposite; and it was only as a means to this end that they saved him. They did not of themselves confirm him. At the height of the process of development where man knows himself as an incomplete and imperfect being, there can be no confirmation. There is only knowledge of the whole insecurity and lostness of man's being, the experience of the metaphysical uncertainty of his existence, and the inner perception of being borne by an Unseen Power, which will perhaps manifest itself to him, and to which he will perhaps approach closer. The individual recognises the whole imperfection and insecurity of man, and it is only through this immensely painful experience that the preconditions for a genuine change in man are established, and man can advance towards his goal.

The individual is strongly tempted to withdraw from the suffering and, in place of the scanty moments of an affirmation of himself accorded by the invisible Godly Opposite, to which his own inner experience acts as a mediator, to substitute a permanent affirmation by the visible Opposite of his culture, which accords him the greatest measure of power and freedom.

In the world of culture man becomes to a great extent independent of Nature and the Cosmos, which no longer meet him as something alien and hostile, but assume the character of reality without pointing onwards to the Godly Opposite. It is always the world of cities which accords man the fullest measure of such security—through his enclosure in the shell of a greater community.

The city was also originally directed towards God, from the tutelary deities of the heathen world, whose temples dominated it, to the

Christian God, whose cathedrals stretched to heaven. But it seems to exist by its own laws, independently of the laws of Creation. Defended by its walls from the circumjacent world of Nature, covered under its roofs from cosmic space, hidden in its homes, and from youth upwards accustomed to the traffic of its streets and ready-made artificial structures, man meets step by step, and as on equal terms, a world which has lost its allegorical character, which begins to be an independent Opposite to him, and affords him self-consciousness. Whereas the Godly Opposite will bring him the full realisation of his insecurity and incompleteness, and thereby expose him (until he achieves the inner sense of being borne) to the whole torment of the developmental process; this Visible Opposite promises him a self-assured ego and a knowledge of the end to which he is living. That is to say all that marks the deficiency in man, it assures him, is a sign of his completeness.

There must, however, first have been a certain transformation in man himself. Culture certainly sets him in a circumstantial world which he possesses, instead of being possessed by it, and enormously increases his power and freedom; but in itself it is dead and lacks the power of affirmation. So long as man lives as an individual in the world of culture, its values remain a means to an end, and an allegory to him. Set alone on a desert island, and surrounded by all the works of culture, man could not do otherwise than see them as instrumental and allegorical, and make use of them in that sense. He would forthwith discover that they do not possess any value in themselves, but point to something else. The individual is exactly like a solitary being on an uninhabited island.

The process in the individual which has changed him and his relationship to God must have its cause. The individual cannot affirm himself, but has to "display" himself and whatever is his to one Opposite, in order to obtain the needed affirmation. Only then and thereby does he become real. And since as an individual he first received his affirmation from the Godly Opposite alone, he must afterwards have found a different Opposite which accorded him the desired confirmation, and thereby made of culture and consciousness a matter of reality to him.

In addition to his direction upon the Godly Opposite the individual possesses a secondary kind of affirmation, which alone makes his function possible. He takes his origin from the communal effort and the affirmation of the collective body, which for its own sake created in him the function of establishing and maintaining connection with the Godly Opposite. The strength which the affirmation of the collective body gave him, and which alone made his

individualised existence possible and created the Image of Man, was for him only relative, inasmuch as he himself was only functioning as a mediator. Placed before the Godly Opposite and charged with the task of the collective body, he could not attribute the affirmation to himself or relate it to himself. The relationship alters only when the individual fails in his task, turns away from his Godly Opposite, and now ascribes the confirmation by the collective body to himself, when he accordingly ceases to be a mediator, a *persona*.

With this procedure at the apex of the human hierarchy, man's particular Fall has taken place, and at the same moment the individual ceases to exist, having reincorporated himself in the collective body from which he took his origin. Only now do culture and consciousness become realities and lose their mediatory and allegorical character, for the Fallen Individual has found in the collective body a different Opposite to whom he can " show " them, and whose confirmation he can now obtain himself.

This return and renunciation frees him from the torment of his unprotected and incomplete state. With confirmation by the collective body everything becomes easy and everything makes sense. Culture and consciousness become values in themselves, and, set before the concave mirror of the collective body, appear as visible and palpable reality.

The decline of culture and the blurring of human consciousness begin, therefore, with the Fall of the Individual; they take their start from the peak of the hierarchy, and are characterised by the individual deriving his confirmation " from below " instead of " from above ". And with the return of the individual into the collective body, the collective body is deprived of the direction he provided. It therefore resembles a large body without eyes, which, running about at random, inevitably gets hurt in the process. The catastrophe of every human community begins with the fading out of the individual.

The catastrophe always follows the same course. When the individual bases himself upon culture and consciousness and gives them reality through the confirmation of the collective body, he indirectly expresses the belief that the goal of human development has been reached in him. An image and an aim are thus displayed to every member of the collective body, which each one must realise for himself. The aim is not placed very high. Possession of those visible and tangible values upon which the men at the peak of the hierarchy have based their existence is all that is required. Once a man possesses these he will participate in the same confirmation, and with it acquire the same degree of certainty and security, freedom and

power. Thus we get the paradoxical procedure of man affirming the reality and value of culture in order to derive from it the confirmation of his own reality and value.

As a result of this procedure a struggle begins in the collective body for the visible and tangible values of culture. The existing values are not sufficient to be made equally accessible to everyone, and so values, which originally had only an allegorical importance, are multiplied and reproduced and replaced by ever worse copies and imitations. There is thus a lowering of values within the framework of the collective body, and this goes on at an ever-increasing tempo as more and more people succeed in claiming a share of the pseudo-reality.

But the lowering of values also results in a decline in the power of confirmation by the collective body, for at a certain level the lowered values become quite meaningless. Being available to everybody, they lose their quality of rarity, and, since they can only be made available in reproductions, slip from the level of quality on to that of quantity. Confirmation of social position by the collective body then loses its quality of grace and becomes valueless, and man has no means to secure his confirmation. It is a terrifying situation, since it takes him back to the initial insecurity, that old primeval anguish from which he had painfully detached himself on his millennial journey. It is an anguish of utter gloom, containing no Opposite, where man must wait for the lost Godly Opposite to manifest itself again.

Driven to the limit of horror, he inflicts upon himself and others the most gruesome suffering. No means are too frightful, no acts too shameful, to recover what has been withdrawn: the awareness of the self. Since confirmation by the body collective threatens to fade out in a general collapse of value, new and abnormal values have to be created, and their recognition enforced by fear. The abasement of other persons becomes the only means of confirmation for oneself. Terror and despotism arise. The abasement of the Other Man, however, renders the effort hopeless, for it devalues the confirmation which has been extorted from him. Abased to a thing of nought, he is no longer capable of reassuring his oppressor. The lust for blood, which is at all times an anguish-intoxication, ends in quantity superseding quality.

4

The collapse of culture and the darkening of consciousness may lead to the virtual destruction of the collective body. World history offers examples enough of this. The degenerative process

reaches its limits at the point where the individual appears again and manifests the living reality of the Godly Opposite. From that point where he went astray man must retrace his steps and work out his path anew; he must go the way of expiation, repentance, asceticism, and rebirth. It is a path for the individual, and the individual is known by his readiness to admit and to accept the blame as his own. It is the admission of his " own " guilt which subordinates him again to the Opposite, and thereby makes him a *persona* once more.

But it is precisely here that the most difficult part of a new beginning lies. In what way can the relationship with the Godly Opposite be re-established if the individual no longer exists, but has been absorbed into the collective body? The catastrophe has to be recognised as such before a change in man becomes possible. But it is precisely this which is hidden from him. The true nature of the catastrophe is apparent to the man who lives alongside but " outside " it, and can observe it as an external event, either because he belongs to an alien body collective, or because he has studied deeply some historic catastrophe. But to the man who is struck by it unawares it appears as something dark and unknown. So small is his understanding of it, that for a long time, possibly right to the bitter end, he is unaware of being in the midst of catastrophe at all. It refutes the thesis that Being and Being-Conscious, Culture and Creation, are coincident, upon which his whole existence is based. Not only are its material consequences unpleasant, therefore, but it contradicts and convulses the whole metaphysical basis of his existence by contradicting it.

He has to free himself from the culture and that consciousness which have become a reality through collective confirmation, and submit to the dark and unknown pressing in upon him from the realm of Being or of Natural Creation, which can only be lived and experienced directly; he has to present himself a nameless one to the Nameless Opposite.

The strength to venture upon such a course is not generally possessed by the man who has been living certain and secure. It may grow within him through catastrophe, if the latter takes away and smashes one after another the props of his existence, for in so doing it liberates submerged vital forces. At the beginning of the catastrophe, however, the necessary strength is lacking.

So long as it is at all possible he will therefore endeavour to pass judgement upon the Other and the Alien from the ground he knows, seeking to incorporate it in the usual trusted categories of his consciousness and his culture. He will describe it in terms and concepts to which he is accustomed, as " the crisis ", " the revolution ", " the

historical change", which can in no wise do justice to the true meaning and nature of what is happening, but help to postpone the shattering of human consciousness. In this situation man is "stricken with blindness", desperately trying to maintain the old foundations of his existence, and incapable of acknowledging that consciousness is growing darker and darker in the struggle, leading to ever more ridiculous interpretations of events.

His inability to incorporate what is happening in his consciousness leaves events shapeless and becoming ever more dangerous, while consciousness becomes increasingly dark as the external supports of existence are removed. The force of events may in the end drive him to admit that he is in the midst of a catastrophe, but so long as he attributes reality to the catastrophe, the admission belongs to the ancient categories of his thought. If he concedes it Reality—and a man who is sure of himself is accustomed to see nothing but Reality around him, having lost his eye for the mediatory and allegorical character of the world—he is left to face the consequence either by preparing for his own annihilation, or voluntarily courting it; for which reason the death-urge is at this stage wont to predominate strongly in the collective body.

Knowledge [1] of being in a state of catastrophe is thus not given directly to man; and in his blindness he is capable of going to the extreme point of annihilation without becoming aware of his position.

Without doubt he would have a chance of escape only after recognising the causes of the catastrophe and working out for himself [2] a picture of its nature and meaning. And this is not possible so long as the catastrophe is regarded as a reality. The urge to seek out the causes begins only when man recognises that as a reality it is indifferent, casual, and unreal, even though it leads to violent destruction and immense sacrifices. Over the rubble and ruins of the destruction, and over the graves and crosses of the annihilated, a kind of comfortless boredom hangs so long as they have not become an allegory; that is to say, so long as the catastrophe does not point beyond and through itself to that Other and Alien which is giving signs through it. And this would already presuppose a change in the man.

[1] Zehrer distinguishes between "Erkenntnis", the word used here, meaning knowledge by actual experience, perception, sometimes to be translated cognition, and "Kenntnis", used of all kinds of general knowledge inferred or gained at second hand. His final chapter on "The Crisis of Knowledge" turns on precisely this distinction.

[2] Perhaps the best general translation of a word, *erarbeiten*, which really means to gain possession of by hard work, and is often used by Zehrer for the elaboration and acquisition of some conceptual world.

The catastrophe destroys the things on which man depends and on which he has based his existence. Where his existence has become completely dependent on these things, it destroys man himself. This is its meaning and purpose. In order to perceive this, man has to renounce voluntarily the things which, willy-nilly, are being taken from him. To perceive this allegorical quality of the event would necessarily mean man perceiving his own guilt and admitting it in repentance. Therefore perception of the crisis is the prerequisite of a change in man; man recognises the occurrence only to the extent to which he himself changes. And this change is at the same time the only means of influencing the occurrence and averting the catastrophe.

A procedure of this kind is never completed within the collective body. It is, of course, possible through the length and gravity of the catastrophe to awaken within the collective body the will for redemption from anguish, and start a search for the individual who can give the resolution form and direction. We know the call for the Saint and Redeemer went up throughout the Roman world long before the occurrence which took place on Jewish soil. While such longing prepares the ground, it cannot realise itself, for the concepts of guilt, repentance, and retribution are bound up with conscience, and conscience in its turn is active in the individual alone, and entirely suspended in the collective body.

The catastrophe of the collective body, which began with the event played out between God and the Individual, can only be removed by an event played out anew between God and the Individual. And this event begins with the man who dares apprehend the causes of the catastrophe as in some way bound up with his own guilt. In him the Individual is born anew.

5

Man is the measure of all things because he has been given in consciousness a faculty which distinguishes him from all other creatures. So runs the thesis upon which the Man of the West has based his life since the Italian Renaissance.

The investigation so far conducted suggests that with the acceptance of this thesis, the " Fall " within culture occurs, and, as a consequence, the way to catastrophe is inescapable. This was a far-reaching conclusion, for the Renaissance marked the birth of modern European Man; it created a type of man still representative of all people within European cultural circles, and put into circulation values and ideas which remain holy and sacrosanct. In the course of half-a-millennium's development, Renaissance man has not

merely become a lively prototype for all social strata in the West, particularly the lower strata, which accepted it last, but, by virtue of the proselytising power of Western ideas, has gone farther and become representative of the whole world, which it now dominates. The path to catastrophe would thus not only be followed by the people of the West, but throughout the world.

As the cradle of Modern Man, the Renaissance is surrounded by an aura of glittering brilliance, which repels all criticism. And in very deed a factual consideration of it was not possible so long as man was absorbed by the historical development which it began. Only in the last few decades has Western Man been freeing himself from this dependence; and in proportion as he is able to do so, and to survey an expired historic period, his criticism of it increases. How does the phenomenon look, not measured, as it has been hitherto, by its own concepts and ideas, but by the yardstick of the " Fall " and the catastrophe ?

To base the thesis that Man is the measure of all things upon consciousness is erroneous, because consciousness is a fluid quantity. It is not a serviceable organ given to man, like his heart or lungs, but is the reflection of his external circumjacent world which he has acquired by work, and freed from anguish.

Renaissance man in his urban security resembles the citizens in the flowering time of Greek life two thousand years earlier, after the repulse of the Persians; when the sophist Protagoras coined the phrase " Man is the measure of all things, and so became the spokesman of Greek enlightenment ".

The open space of the city frees man from the darkness and uncertainty of his surroundings. Each step he takes has been taken innumerable times before. His environment has been prepared for him by long generations, and he feels that he has no need himself to test things, but merely to take them over. It is the liberty afforded by the environment which provides the basis for his consciousness.

Before long, however, he advances from that well-secured world of his possession and rule, into the yet unconquered outer world and subjects it to limitations similar to those valid within the city walls. For this he needs an image of Nature and the Cosmos such as divests them of their mysterious qualities, and makes them into human possessions. Both are necessarily deprived of their live quality before they can be given as objects into the man's possession.

The task was undertaken in the world of Greece by Protagoras' fellow-countryman and contemporary, Democritus. Nature, Democritus taught, does not exist; there are only voids and atoms

moving in accordance with definite laws. The Cosmos is a gigantic mechanism, where everything happens under the compulsion of necessity. Within its operations the gods have no place, for they are subject to the same laws, and scarcely differentiated from men. Democritus therefore speaks disapprovingly of men " who to embellish their own unreason have thought up a lying picture of chance, and deceive themselves with mendacious tales about a life after death ".

Man no longer finds the Cosmos and Nature " opposite " him, filled with godly or dæmonic powers, and his life is no longer bound up with their vital forces, which he perceives within himself and knows to be at work. He has superimposed the image of the town on to Natural Creation, turning it into a gigantic piece of lifeless mechanism with stones moved and whirled around each other in accordance with the law of mass. Man himself would be like a helpless stone whirled around by causality did he not own Creation as an object in his consciousness.

He himself, as subject and carrier of this consciousness, is the sole living being within the entire mechanism having a power of insight into the brazen laws of the whole. He is subject to the same laws as all other pieces of matter, but he is a thinking piece of matter, and when he recognises the laws under which he himself and the whole of the universe have their being, he is above them, and can look down on the whole mechanism like God. Human consciousness of its own volition has thus moved into the place of God.

Democritus and Protagoras need each the other, just as do Mechanicism and Rationalism. In Greek development their teachings were a brief episode. Two thousand years later, however, they experienced a rebirth which determined the destiny of the West and of the world generally up to today. The inhabitants of Genoa, Florence, and Venice lived in the same world-surroundings and amid the same conditions as the citizens of Athens, Miletos, and Ephesus two thousand years earlier. As men of an elevated city-culture they were exposed to similar temptations, and the practical expedients at their disposal were not notably bigger than those of men two thousand years before.

What did constitute a real difference was the changed assumptions due to the Christian religion. The later European citizen bore the imprint of Christ's teaching. Through the direct relationship between his soul and the Creator of Heaven and Earth, he was separated from Nature and the Cosmos, and elevated above them both. The realm of Grace devalued that of Nature, and over the course of many generations man was trained to free himself from

Natural Creation and orient himself upon the supernatural aim of becoming perfect and complete. The expectation of his own impending transformation filled him with dynamic power. The teachings of Democritus and Protagoras thus fell upon soil which had been religiously prepared and was charged with mighty power.

It was Christ's teaching which set man as an individual before God. The mighty elevation of man's personality played no part in his relation to the Opposite. He could not compare himself with the Power before whom he was placed and whose authority was binding upon him. Man's existence hung solely upon the bond between himself as an individual and God. If the bond broke, or man succeeded in releasing himself from it, something unique in human history was bound to occur. To yield upon that height to temptation must inevitably evoke an unprecedented catastrophe.

This is the cardinal point of the Renaissance. It is there that one must look for the development of Western Man, and there lie the causes of world events today.

The representative man of the West is perfectly aware that he has found other foundations than religion for his existence. He meets any reference to the reality of God with uninterested patience, arising from complete aloofness. The history of the last five hundred years is dominated by an increasing destruction of man's belief in God, which in the nineteenth century began to affect the lower social strata, and today has become quite general.

This breach with tradition springs from the " Fall " of the individual, who at the height of culture falls back into the collective body and depends upon it for confirmation of his value. The individual thereby ceases to exist, and as the extrusion and death of the individual always betoken the beginning of catastrophe for the collective body, the history of our epoch presents the movement of the West, and of the whole world with it, so far as gripped and influenced by it, into catastrophe. It is occurring, like the increasing speed of falling bodies, more quickly as greater masses join the movement.

Among the advantages of a confirmation by the collective body is the replacement of the invisible and impalpable Godly Opposite, only to be apprehended through an inner experience, by the visible and palpable reality of culture, which at once provides man with a different measure of security. Man, who has hitherto only had a knowledge of his ignorance before the Godly Opposite, and thereby a consciousness that is subordinate to being, now obtains from the reality of culture a consciousness which is certain of itself. The concrete affirmation of his own self means for the individual what is

practically a liberation from the woes of his insecurity and imperfectness. As a consequence, he appears during the experience the very image of security and completeness, of overflowing health and strength.

It is this image which until recently has been the dominant conception about the Renaissance, and has afforded the leadership image for modern man. It is consequently extremely difficult for the moderns to understand that the individual " fell " back into the collective body, instead of rising above it. If there is one thing accepted without question, it is that the free autonomous personality of man had its birth at the Renaissance.

This free autonomous personality, labelled *uomo singolare*, *uomo unico*, *uomo universale*, and glorified as a second Adam, this man who felt himself to be the highest grade of human development, has been described by Jacob Burckhardt in a passage of his *Culture of the Renaissance*, written with the enthusiasm of the direct descendant:

> " In the Middle Ages both sides of consciousness—that towards the world and that towards man's innermost being—lay as if dreaming or but half awake beneath a single veil, woven of faith, childish prejudice and folly. Seen through it the World's History appeared wondrously tinted. Man, however, only knew himself as race, people, party, corporate body, family, or in some other generalised form. It was in Italy that the veil first blew away, and an objective consideration and treatment of the State and the things of this world generally, began. Man became an intellectual individual and recognised himself as such. . . . With the end of the 13th Century Italy began to swarm with personalities. The ban which had been laid upon individualism was completely broken. Thousands of individuals were specialising themselves."

Such is the picture of the new man, still valid for us today when we conjure up the figures of mighty lords, Regents, and *condottieri*, of big bankers, merchants, and citizens, and the *personæ* of humanity, learned persons, artists, and *literati*, who at that time were producing developments on an extravagant scale and laying the foundations whereon we were standing until yesterday.

The picture is sufficiently impressive to mislead one into Burckhardt's judgement, that the individual was then born in the West. To know what kind of a man *was* born then, and whether he really was an individual who looked upon the light of a new age, lived fully in his freedom, and felt a huge appetite for living, one has to ascertain from whence he obtained his confirmation or the re-

affirmation of his personality. He obtained it from the collective body! He obtained it by presenting himself, his actions, his works, and everything cultural which he was able to make his own, to the collective body, and being confirmed by that body. It is curious that a man like Burckhardt, who clearly saw the catastrophe's approach, who was expecting none except ascetic personalities to be saved, and who in talking of the Renaissance described several phenomena really characteristic of the swing of the individual towards the collective body, should not have drawn the obvious conclusion, that this was the death, not the birth of the individual.

For this far-famed and oft-praised individuality of the Renaissance, which appears to have sprung from its own inner strength, listens in a state of anguish to its audience, and waits tensely, like an actor, for the applause, anxious to see how many "curtains" it is called to take. With Renaissance "individualism" the marks of collective approval became supreme values. The *condottiere* is hungry for his statue, the poet for his laurels, the man of literature for his applause. Vanities which depend upon the body collective are multiplied. The ostentation of possessions and the glitter of education are broadcast in biographies and mirrored in autobiographies. Man does not exist out of his own self at all, but has simply changed his Opposite, his "public". Moment by moment he exhibits himself before the body collective, and it is their business to pour out applause and make him real. For it is only through this confirmation that the role he plays acquires reality. For this purpose he must "have" something to display—property or education; that is to say, he must have made as much as possible of existing culture his own. He must have some skill to gain the applause of the body collective, just like the music-hall artist who dances along the tight-rope. And only when this "having" and "being able" have been confirmed by the applause of the body collective, is "Being" accorded to the man; only then he "is" something.

Here is the cardinal point of the Renaissance, the cause of all that has been happening subsequently in the West and beyond. In the Greek world the theses of Democritus and Protagoras, about the world consisting of atoms and man being the measure of all things, were unable to strike any lasting roots. Plato, as the final comment on them, inserted the following stern sentence in his *Laws*: "The Measure of All Things is God!" But when the theses reappeared in our Western world the energies stored up by Christianity led to a unique transformation of man and his world, and the possibility of the most enormous catastrophe of history. Descartes put the final touch to the development with his famous "*Cogito, ergo sum*";

that is to say, " Man is in possession of his consciousness, therefore he exists ". Being and Being-Conscious " cover " each the other and are identical. It is only from consciousness that man can build himself a world of his own, the Regnum Hominis of Francis Bacon, which was in its own way identical with Natural Creation, so that culture, too, overlaps with the world. Man has thus really become Lord and Creator of Heaven and Earth, and set himself in the place of God. He has become a Man-God.

6

It is the secret of human history that its peculiar dynamic force arises from quite simple decisions. It is through these that a vast historical movement is first set in motion, while the noise which fills it, the bright colours of its pictures which suborn us, and the exciting quality of the ideas which activate it, are secondary and unimportant. The course of the historic epoch termed the " Modern Era " is accompanied by a wealth of noise, bright colours, and ideas, but displays nothing save the development of the decision that began it, which fell into the depth of man's nature, into the Soul of the Individual.

If the collective body possesses confirmatory power, it must itself be invested with the highest value. This conclusion is accepted as valid for every aspect of human life, and is finally given complete effect. The collective body launches itself as a nation, establishes itself by separation and delimitation from other collective bodies, and grants confirmation only to those within its own national shell. The Christian Unity of the West promptly falls away into a multiplicity of National States. Nationalism takes the place of religious fervour, and becomes the most elementary force of the new historical epoch. It takes over at once the phenomena of Fame, of Honour, of Vanity, etc., which are valid only against the confirmatory background of the collective body, and which, by the " Fall " of the Individual, have become supreme values. The nation itself becomes the Individuum, greedily hungering for confirmation by other nations. It " produces " itself in front of a " house " of spectators, the " stalls " of the world, and must have applause to make the role it plays a reality.

The nation constitutes the external shell. It contains the people, the internal shape of the body collective, who at the same time make up the nation. The people, too, must logically become the supreme value if they represent the sole source of confirmation. The people have to receive, as does the nation, the attributes of Divinity. Thus the thesis is accepted that all power comes from the people, the only

logical conclusion from what has taken place at the apex of the human hierarchy between the Individual and God.

The Individual of his own will changed what hitherto had been his Godly Opposite when he accepted confirmation by the collective body. Nation and people merely constitute links in a closed chain of causality to which they are bound, and yet both of them pretend to follow laws of their own, giving them the appearance of being independent elements. Both claim the colourful ideas which fill the history of our times, and both produce the most exciting of their phenomena—the wars and revolutions, the battlefields and barricades, in which men keep annihilating each other in order to compel the Other Man, the Other Nation or the Other Class to grant confirmation of One's Own Nation or One's Own Class.

If culture and consciousness obtain the character of reality only through confirmation by the collective body, it logically follows that the sum total of human culture resides in the body collective, else would the latter have no power of confirmation. If we call the sum total of human consciousness Truth, and the sum total of human culture (that is to say, the world men have made their own) Possessions, then turning to the collective body must lead to a variation in the Truth-and-Possession concept. Truth and Possession become realities only when they have obtained confirmation by the collective body.

The change in the Truth-and-Possession concept plots the course of development which ended in the collective body becoming the supreme instance of authority and judgement. So long as the individual survived, Truth and Possessions did not constitute values of and in themselves. They obtained from God, and bore an allegorical character. The individual whom destiny had placed at the peak of the human hierarchy had his place within a state of Being bestowed upon him, which he ascribed not to himself, but to the Godly Opposite upon which he was oriented. The individual was therefore situated on the far side of culture and consciousness, on a grade of development which invited imitation by others. His very existence constituted a reproach and a challenge. When the Other Man failed to accept the challenge, he voluntarily accepted subordination to the authority of Being.

But when the individual obtained security through confirmation by the collective body, he presented himself as a person who had toiled to gain possession of a part of the circumstantial world, and now wanted confirmation of this possession. The body collective accorded it, thereby creating a new reality, visible and palpable, whereby culture and consciousness became values of their own upon

which man could base his existence. An attainable goal for human completion was set up, possessing validity for all within the collective body. Culture and consciousness, property and education thus became means bestowing upon the human being certainty and security, completion and perfection. Possession created certainty, knowledge created power, and together they determined the degree of confirmation which a man might expect of the collective body, for he was no longer measured in terms of Being but of " Having " and " Being Able ".

When such a goal is generally accepted, every man who feels the metaphysical unrest of incomplete and imperfect being, and desires to free himself from it, will be gripped by an acquisitive urge, an overmastering desire to gain possession of as much as possible of the values of culture and consciousness, in order to assure himself of the greatest possible measure of personal confirmation. This acquisitive urge, whether it manifest itself as a striving for education or for property, must lead within the body collective to a battle for the values available, which will be waged most passionately because its essential aim is the metaphysical assurance of one's own existence.

Now, the values available within any collective body are far from big enough to be made available for each member. As a consequence, the collective body can at the beginning of this development grant no more than the possibility of gaining possession of these values to each of its members ; it can only assure them that it will do nothing to hinder their struggle. In a word, each one is to have freedom to fight for whatever is felt necessary to confirm his position.

The first phase of the battle blazing within the collective body is therefore under the sign of liberty. In modern times it has given rise to Liberalism and Capitalism, both of which have to be defined in terms of the new concept of liberty. Inside this liberty concept, however, the concept of equality is hidden, and in an ever greater degree replaces it. Liberty means equality of external possibilities for every man, and it is always assumed that each man's potentialities differ, so that the hierarchic principle remains. But the principle is not maintained. It vanishes as the collective body becomes the supreme and sole means of affirming oneself, and each of its members admits that its confirmation is the guarantee of reality. If every member of the body collective has the same right to confirmation, equality of external possibilities is no longer enough. The equality must be real. Thus the fight within liberty becomes a fight about equality, waged with the slogan " Equal property and equal education for all ! " In our time this has led to the socialist and communist movements.

Liberalism and Capitalism, Socialism and Communism, have as little independent reality, and work as little to laws of their own, as do Nationalism and Parliamentarism; they all merely constitute links in a chain of causation set in action through the changed relationship between the Individual and God.

With the recognition of the principle of equality the collective body has finally imposed and constituted its supremacy. As by its confirmation it had accorded reality to the phenomena of Consciousness and Culture from the very beginning, it is only logical that the sums of both—that is, Truth and Possessions—should also belong to it, and that each of its members should have a claim to an equal share in both. Thus that alone can be truth which is confirmed by the majority of the body collective; and property only what is received in fee from the body collective, to be recalled as occasion demands, if indeed it be not completely depersonalised and made collective.

Particular interest attaches to the modification of the concept of truth, since it bears on the task, so important for human existence, of maintaining the direction and goal of human endeavour in an alien and hostile universe. At the beginning of the process consciousness was inseparably bound up with education, and education was understood as the self-perfecting of human nature. As equality imposes itself, the concept of truth gets separated from that of education. If the collective body is possessed of truth, then each man participates in it equally and bears it within himself. The personal urge for education and self-perfection becomes superfluous. In " a state of healthy humanity " everyone bears in himself an equal consciousness. It cannot be otherwise, for each will be called upon to confirm what truth is. Truth therefore becomes whatever is decided by the majority. This is the logical inference from the thesis that Man is the Measure of All Things, and in consciousness was given a faculty which distinguished him above every other being in Creation. That truth comes not " from above ", but " from below ", is one of the most sacred assumptions of modern man.

The whole history of modern times is thus dominated by the phenomenon of the collective body imposing itself as the supreme court of appeal. The more the thesis of equality is established in all areas of human life, the closer modern development approaches its goal. It has today very nearly reached it.

When man understands that his share of culture and of consciousness, for which he fights, gains reality only through confirmation by the collective body, and that everyone has an equal share, it ceases to be a reality capable of releasing him from his feeling of metaphysical

uncertainty and insecurity. At first when the individual laid claim to cultural gains before the collective body he had much to show that was stamped with divine attributes. Values which were originally directly related to God transferred their grace to the man who had possession of them. But when the memory of this divine relationship begins to vanish, when the body collective is recognised as the supreme ground of confirmation, which is equally available to all, then man's possession is devalued, and the body-collective's confirmation declines with it. The principle of equality has been realised, but the values have lost reality, and gone is that imponderable grace which used to rest upon the voluntary recognition and confirmation by the collective body.

This is the moment when authority, once dependent upon voluntary recognition, changes into power, since the collective body, like the individual, can compensate for the disappearance of its old confirmations only by invoking them by sheer force. The deployment and application of power have to increase proportionately to the decline and disappearance of values. The collective body affords recognition as before, but it can do so only by means of an ever greater use of force. This phenomenon is typical of the historical development of our times, and dominates all sections of life.

Thus by force and violence, terror and despotism, the collapse of values and the disappearance of " confirmation " drive logically and irresistibly to an abyss, where the increase of metaphysical anguish leads to mass murder, and finally to suicide. No great effort is needed to prove this. The history of modern times speaks for itself. It is enough to compare man's stature at the beginning of the process and at its end.

Renaissance man dared to subject Nature, from which his relationship with God had liberated him and made him independent, to himself. He took over the ideas of Democritus, prerequisites for the mathematical method corresponding to his consciousness, and atomised and mathematicised Nature and the Universe and subjected them experimentally to the conditioning of his will until they surrendered a part of their secrets. The Space above man had hitherto been regarded as sacramental, as a preserve of God. But once the planets had been adapted to the mathematical laws of man's consciousness, man stepped into the sacramental area. The Godly Opposite was extinguished in the concept of infinity, a void subjected to man's mysterious power to impose mathematical formulæ.

With the aid of natural forces he created instruments enabling him to take possession of the world and grasp after the whole Cosmos, thereby setting up for all mankind the aim of a Three-In-One-ness

composed of Consciousness, Instruments, and Culture. Man-created instruments were to be capable of embracing the whole of Being and Natural Creation, and at the end of his development, man was to be God and Master over Nature and the Universe.

The uniqueness of the Christian individual gave the chain of causation set in motion by man's " Fall " at the peak of the human hierarchy uniqueness in the history of humanity. If a development unexampled in the world's history is to be traced to an event which took place some two thousand years ago on Palestinian soil (and tendencies in profane history only to be apprehended as the outcome of that event strongly support the supposition), then an equal importance must be attached to the " Fall " of the Christian individual who claimed the right to appropriate to himself the attributes of God, and to have their reality confirmed by the whole of humanity, thus setting himself up for a god.

The man of today who has stepped into the inheritance of the individual, and is his immediate descendant, only admits the fact to himself at the moment when the collective body's confirmation lifts him on to a lonely height and he sees the world, Nature, and the Universe lying beneath him. If this makes him dizzy, he hastily bobs down again into the body collective, leaving it to the latter to come to terms with the fact, which therefore remains uncomprehended and knits itself into destiny. Only in this manner can one explain the fact that humanity is caught into a stupendous development of increasing speed, and at the same time is so smitten with blindness as no longer to perceive its own position.

Certain phenomena in modern times have given unique importance to the fight for values which invariably takes place after the " Fall " at the apex of the human hierarchy. They all arise from the Christian inheritance which the man of the West began to destroy when he claimed it as his own creation. Among the values which for him had previously held an allegorical importance and been possessed of reality only as attributes of God were, for instance, those of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience. They had to be transferred to his possession, and turned into tangible realities for everyone, if they were to become capable of guaranteeing the certainty and security of his existence.

Man's omnipotence proceeded from the sum of the forces of Nature which he had made his own and which enormously increased his power. Modern Science, which carried out this task and gave it final reality in the realm of technique, springs up lightly from the religious and Christian sources whence it originates, and without which it could not have come into being. For the most part,

the means of which it availed itself—mathematics and experimentation—have but a secondary importance, though they are regarded as the original ground of science, while its Christian foundations are forgotten. How directly our Natural Science has been conditioned by the "Fall" of the Christian individual becomes clear in the Nature-philosophy of the Renaissance. Christian values of the occult and the realm of mysticism were robbed of their allegorical character, and presented as realities in the shape of the Homunculus, the Perpetuum Mobile, and the Stone of Wisdom. It is only from the transformation which took place in men's souls that the external reality of the machine arose; the motor and the fission of the atom emerge as the realisation of those images. They possess value in so far as they confirm to man his possession of omnipotence before the concave mirror of the collective body, and secure him against the metaphysical uncertainty and insecurity of his existence. From that arises the dæmonic character possessed by technique.

Man's omnipresence arose from his subjection and appropriation of space. The Battle of Space dominates the present age, and is its main historic theme. It is being fought to replace man's limitation with infinity, his fixity with movement, and his eternity with time, which, as the directed movement of conscious life, becomes the highest value in creation, and, being accessible by mensuration, is man's true possession. Once the empty infinity of cosmic space had been conquered by the figures and formulæ of human consciousness, the latter had, at least theoretically, taken the place in the universe erstwhile occupied by the omnipresent and all-seeing God. The technical realisation of the idea followed later, and, by means of telescope, telephone, and television, conferred omnipresence on the individual. Aeroplane and telegraphy, radio and television thus possess for the man of today the same power of confirmation as earlier man had in rites and cults, by which Godly attributes were realised and handed on to him.

Man's omniscience is confirmed each moment by the world around him, and is one of the surest foundations of his existence. The world has no darkness and holds no secrets for him any longer, but has become clear and transparent. A great deal of this omniscience he accounts his own; beyond that he is helped by his sane human understanding, and by the body communal which holds in reserve the great confraternity of science, to which he can turn. In the light of his omniscience, the past, the present, and the future are spread before him. He can see them in a single glance. Nothing can happen to him that he cannot forthwith embrace within some natural explanation.

His Christian inheritance not only gave man the prerequisites for mastery over world and universe, it gave him also enormous energies springing from the expectation of mankind's imminent transformation and perfection. After the bond uniting God and man had once been broken, these energies, hitherto directed "upwards", burst forth like a spring-flood over the world and rushed far and wide, tearing down everything traditional in their path. The ultimate perfection of mankind for which Western man had been waiting, preparing, chastening himself, and saving up tremendous energies for fifteen hundred years became his own concern when the Godly Opposite began to fade from his vision; it became an end to be attained by his own will-power.

To affirm this colossal demand for dominion over the whole universe he needed the body collective of the whole of humanity. This, too, was made possible by his Christian inheritance, which assured the individual that he represented the whole of humanity. Thus for the first time in history humanity as a whole was invoked, and drawn into the causative chain of events.

What gave the Battle for Values in the West its unique character arose therefore from our Christian inheritance. Man's consciousness of mastery over the world and the universe, arising from science and technical skill, the energy of expectancy formed in the science of history, linked with an appeal to the whole of mankind for their confirmation, formed the three elements which have determined the history of today, influencing each the other, giving its exciting volcanic character to the history of our times, and speeding up the course of events. Now it was expectancy which stood in the foreground and gave new power to the urge for gain, dragging the other two elements behind it; now it was natural science, creating new technical achievements and influencing the other two; and then again it was the collective body enlarged by new social strata or human components and increasing proportionately the confirmation it gave.

In retrospect history looks like an unbroken line going straight to its goal, but viewed from within it resembles a man's path over an abyss, when the next step may send him hurtling. Each step is a step into the dark, and may take the whole show over the precipice.

One of the three named elements predominates at any moment, and upon it the next step depends. If in any given period the ruling class of a collective body of the West is at the end of its resources—which is to say, if confirmation by the body collective has lost its force—new forces well up from below. And fresh natural forces are opened up and applied in new technical structures which bring hope and confirmation into activity again. The whole movement is

fuelled by the reserves of Christian power, which are being exhausted faster and faster, while the movement itself is proceeding at an ever increasing tempo.

The fading out of the Christian God has extinguished all the gods, thereby releasing the human forces which were bound up with them. The " Sin-Fall " at the peak of the hierarchy has now involved all mankind, and what fills the world in this last phase of its development is strife concerning the manner in which the Supreme Organ of Humanity should be constituted. Hence the struggles concerning the form of the League of Nations and the United Nations, where collective humanity is tangibly displayed.

Meanwhile the principle of equality leads to a fall in values, so that confirmations vanish. The only equality is that of man before God ; there is no equality of men before collective human society. The fight for the equal sharing of values is being passionately fought out all round the habitable globe, so that the world seems to consist of nothing but battlefields and barricades. And the more the equality principle is extended, the further the values fall, since the collective body loses its confirmatory power and the remains of authority are transformed into power. And behind the whole process there is the ever-growing metaphysical fear. Dwindling values mean that man's existence can no longer be guaranteed by the collective body, and he is again falling into the abyss of uncertainty and insecurity.

Western man, who set the process going, has already fallen into this Nothingness. The Christian individual, after succumbing to temptation, stood not merely before the collective body of the West, but presented himself to the collective body of all mankind, and this double confirmation conferred upon him the special and unique importance of which he was so certain. Today he has not only been hauled in and overpowered by the collective body of the West, but he has been hauled in and crushed in the hydraulic press of the world body collective. The individual who once gained the confirmation of mankind is today abased. Viewed from the standpoint of consciousness, hitherto regarded as valid, catastrophe has engulfed him, and he is counted among the transgressors. But to the degree in which he can free himself from dependence upon collective confirmation, and perceives the catastrophe as an allegory, he knows that he has been set first of all mankind in the plus-or-minus zero point of transformation ; and that the " first-fruits of the Spirit " will accrue to him in so far as he is prepared to trace the causes of world events to his personal guilt.

The world body collective is still in the thick of the Battle for Values. It is launching one more grandiose attempt to realise the

Three-in-One-ness of Consciousness, Instrument, and Culture, and, through these, the perfecting of humanity. The last reserves of our Christian inheritance are being brought into play in the attempt. In atom-fission natural science has provided cosmic forces to serve the effort; the masses advance their claims on the broadest of fronts; and the last sections of humanity in Asia and South America are enrolling themselves in the general body collective, which has thus become total, all-inclusive.

For the West, the history of the modern age is over, and is up for judgement. For the world as a whole, which has a different Time-scale, it is not yet over. But the whole of humanity is moving towards judgement.

7

What the man of the Renaissance claimed was to find anew in man's own creation of the Three-in-One-ness of Consciousness, Instrument, and Culture the long-lost security in the world of Nature, and to attain mankind's ideal of perfection. In this world of ours man would have become God, man and his Godly Opposite would be identical, and Being and Being-Conscious, and Nature and Culture, would be identical with each other.

Clearly this is a false approach; for the identity of Being and Being-Conscious in which modern man believed was possible only if he denied human existence or, like Descartes, excluded the dark and unknown inner world of man hitherto valid as soul or *anima*, just as he excluded the body as matter and finally as mechanism. Nature's identity with Culture could be contrived only by equalising the qualities of things as determined experimentally and mathematically, with the things complete in themselves. Existence and Consciousness, Nature and Culture are, however, not identical; Being Aware is sometimes but a limited part of Being, and Culture but a limited sector of Nature.

If it is certain that this claim must lead to catastrophe involving guilt, the direction from which catastrophe will come can be anticipated. It will come from that dark, unknown area, unworked and unmastered, of Being and of Natural Creation, from which man has shut himself off; and which he has lost the power to perceive by believing in the omnipotence of Consciousness and Culture.

So long as the individual stood before God and could interpret the signs, he was in a position to embrace this realm also, and create for himself, at least in presentiment, a kind of limited insight, to make his existence secure. For in front of God man possessed at least the knowledge of his incompleteness and imperfection, knowledge which

arose from the inner image of the completion and perfection of his being lying at the base of all human existence. That is to say, man had a measure accorded him by God. When he became himself the measure, and faded out his Godly Opposite, he deprived himself of his insight into the realm of Being and the kingdom of Nature, so that they both again became dæmonic essences for him, all the more dangerous because he no longer attributed any reality to them. He was therefore exposed to catastrophe from the areas of Being and Nature which were closed to him.

Neither of them can, in fact, be discovered through the usual means at his disposal. It is of no avail to build ever larger telescopes and more delicate apparatus further to open up the Universe and Nature, just as it is of no avail to define one's consciousness ever more clearly and think even more accurately. The realm of Being is behind and beyond man's consciousness; in order to discover it he would, metaphorically speaking, need to turn round and go back to meet his own past. But to achieve this he must tear himself free from his past; which means he must already have turned into another person, transmuted himself. In order to approach the realm of Being anew, man must have given up the thesis that Consciousness is identical with Existence; he must also have given up and rejected the bases of his existence today.

Similarly with the realm of Nature. Its darkness does not somehow begin at the point where the power of his apparatus and the precision of his experiments come to an end, for man unconsciously absorbed it into his culture. He works with natural powers which he believes he understands when he has managed to express a few of their qualities in mathematical formulæ and to determine experimentally a few of their reactions. He equates these qualities and reactions with the forces regarded as a whole. Thereby he has introduced something into the shell of his culture which has remained dark and unknown, and which at any moment may announce itself in some quite different form. Culture may embrace the whole of Nature and the Universe, and yet at any moment an event may occur within it of catastrophic dimensions. For with the natural forces he has secured man is biting into a cosmic order only a sector of which is mathematically and experimentally accessible. He has lost his sense of the intricate structure of the whole which he possessed while he perceived behind Nature and the Universe the might of the Godly Opposite.

Catastrophe may therefore ensue from the natural world, or arise from man's own being. We need scarcely emphasise how closely Being and the Realm of Nature are bound up together, how inter-

related and working in polaric reciprocity, so that they are inseparable.

Since man sketched a picture of Nature as a piece of machinery, adapted to the laws and formulæ of mathematics, he has lost the anguish which had hitherto been humanity's constant companion. Catastrophic events are alien to his mode of thought. For the broad masses even today the laws of classical physics, and Newtonian mechanics, based upon the atomic theory of Democritus, are still valid.

But the monopoly prevalence of classical physics has in the course of the last hundred years been more and more obviously destroyed. Maxwell's Theory of Electricity, based on wave-phenomena which established itself alongside mechanics, and Einstein's Theory of Relativity, which questioned the validity of Euclidean geometry, make it perfectly clear that in the mechanical world-picture we can deal only with a section of reality, not with Nature and the Universe as a whole. Twentieth-century atom-physics paralysed with its Quantum Theory the idea of causality, undermined classical physics, and showed that Nature and the Universe are not under the law of causal compulsion, but dispose a vital freedom which, like life itself, can be mathematically only embraced by statistical probability. The new ideas of freedom, validly established in physics for the atom's reactions and in biology for the fine directional centres of heredity, will without question lead to discoveries in the science of the future which will vastly enlarge the concept of freedom in Nature and the Universe.

Man will then no longer be opposite a world which he can comprehend as a piece of machinery or an apparatus in the formulæ of mathematics, but will find himself once more facing that dark and discomforting " opposite " which constrains him, which may at any moment overpower him, and which he must approach in a quite different spirit from that which he manifests today.

Already he is becoming aware of the insecurity of his existence. The voices of well-known physicists have for the first time been warning us earnestly and insistently of the incalculable consequences of scientific experiments. Since atom-fission became a reality and mankind found itself facing the possibility of harnessing cosmic forces, there has been a steadily increasing depression. Whereas discoveries and inventions have hitherto tended to heighten man's expectations, strengthen his security, and whisk him at an increasing tempo into a happy future, atomic fission has worked in the opposite direction. Alarm, despondency, and unrest are spreading far and wide, and it has so far proved impossible to inject the masses with

optimism. Instead, there is evidence of a growing antagonism to scientific research, which is regarded as the source of all evil.

And the idea that the end of the world is imminent, which for thousands of years has been a component of our religious heritage, is recurring. Finality is not only becoming a reality to be taken into account again, and the possibilities of extinction by heat or cold or atom-conflagration being seriously discussed and weighed, but the presentiments and fears of the broad masses keep revolving directly round the possibility of the world coming to an end. Sunspots and magnetic disturbances, earthquakes and comets, even the customary phenomena of cold and heat, high water and drought, suddenly appear to have gained a hidden significance which cannot be overlooked. There is a new preparedness, looking apprehensively at Nature and the Universe and watching for omens which only a few decades ago passed unnoticed or were dismissed with a shrug. Dark premonitions are bearing down upon man and gnawing away his security at the very roots.

These forebodings are not without justification. For half a millennium man has been measuring everything by himself (that is to say, by what he believes he is), and has intruded with this measure into the order of Nature and the Universe. The latest scientific discoveries show how extremely sensitive are the tiniest components of matter and of life, and what colossal forces rest within them.

Catastrophe, however, can ensue from man's being, which has been excluded from consciousness and turned into an alien and dæmonic force capable of annihilative power. Since man set Being and Being-Conscious on an equal plane, he has been deprived of access to Being and unable to interpret its signs. Consciousness requires clear separation from the Opposite to maintain its own clarity. But Being is situated beyond Being-Conscious. Man is in the midst of his Being, he is it himself, and cannot set himself in opposition to it and delimit himself from it, but must subject himself to it and listen to the faint voice of conscience. But having founded his whole existence on consciousness and custom, it is precisely that which he cannot do.

Man's being contains the whole of his existence, past and present and future, the realised and the unrealised, for it contains the picture of completion and perfection at which man has been aiming and to which he is related. It may be that his existence, based as it now is on culture and consciousness stamped with finality and completion, does not correspond to the image of man held by his being. It may be that the image formed by man in stone and steel in the world around him, and which is secured by his consciousness, contradicts

the other important image of him, and is opposed to the sense and aim of human development. In that case power will be dammed up in man and drive against every compartment erected by culture by which it is imprisoned and constrained, or—as is said today—" repressed ".

Man will thus become a split personality, and his conscious and unconscious life will grow more and more sharply opposed. How mighty are the forces which reside in the unconscious the latest researches of biology and psychology have shown. On the other hand, man has for centuries been pinning his whole existence to consciousness and has made himself entirely dependent upon it. Any existence beyond what he is able consciously to supervise, plus his own possessions, seems unimaginable to him. A life-and-death conflict in which the superior force of life will prevail must therefore be fought out within him, and it will lead to self-destruction whenever his imprisonment within consciousness is strong enough to prevent regression to repentance, expiation, and asceticism.

As consciousness is only the inner side of culture in the circumstantial world, the battle which is being fought out within him will be projected on to the world around him. The dark dæmonic forces from man's being will therefore break into the cultural realm, and, because he is obsessed by them, he will be powerless, being made their vehicle. Dammed up for so long, they will exercise destructive power and cause man to shatter the safe edifice of his culture.

If the catastrophe arising from his being breaks over man, he will endeavour to force it into the old categories of consciousness in order to master it, in much the same way as he enlarges and refines his instruments *vis-à-vis* Nature and the Universe. And because his consciousness is in no condition to embrace reality, he will not recognise the catastrophe; but he will sharpen it, for the categories of consciousness serve to make his consciousness secure, and will oppose the assault of the Unknown. While man's consciousness cleaves to the values of culture, upon which it has based its actuality, the catastrophe breaking in upon him from Being will destroy precisely that actuality, and thereby remove from consciousness the bases of its security and certainty.

That irruption of Being into the realm of consciousness finds, then, its reflection in man's circumstantial world; and it is just this which he takes to be reality, because it presents itself as visible and tangible, instead of recognising it as the projection of the battle between Being and Being-Conscious which is being fought out within him. He therefore regards even the grimmest spectacle of destruction as an alien reality, as dead Opposite, because the security of his

consciousness, upon which his existence is based, rests on the assumption that culture, even in ruins, is true reality. For it is only while this remains true that his consciousness "functions" and his existence as constituted maintains itself as Measure of All Things. It is only when he begins once more to see his circumstantial world as unreal and allegorical, and to sense mirrored in it another and deeper existence in the background, that he begins to approach the possibility of regaining the power of perception he has lost. But that very thing would presuppose a transformation of his being.

If today there are premonitions and fears of approaching catastrophe in Nature, the world of human culture is becoming restive from similar premonitions and fears. The world-picture of classical physics was smashed up about midway through the last century. From that moment the world of culture began to be unsafe. Men were gripped by unknown forces coming from Being, and perceived their own void; from which one may infer that Being had begun to sap man's forces. The end of the nineteenth century was cramped by this phenomenon of the internal void, which produced in its leading personalities shattering manifestations, easily put into the categories of decadence and nihilism. When natural science in the twentieth century, through the Relativity and Quantum Theories, destroyed the picture of physics hitherto prevailing in the West, the forces dammed up in the realm of Being straightway began to break with dæmonic force into the realm of consciousness, and to smash the shells of culture. The same manifestations make themselves felt everywhere and, conformably with the world around them, wear different masks. Whether it is the individual no longer able to cope with the unconscious who is beginning to suffer from it physically and spiritually; whether it is a wide social strata irresistibly breaking into the social order and wrecking it; whether it is peoples and nations for whom the space available in the world is too narrow who fall upon each other to gain their own security by excluding others, the unshackled dæmons are breaking into the shells of world culture. And it all arises from the one cause: Being is rebelling against the picture of man created by consciousness. The picture of his own completion and perfection imagined by man does not correspond to the true meaning and aim of his development. The opposition between two differing conceptions of completion and perfection is increasing, so that they are locked in bitterest conflict within each separate human being.

And just as in scientific research forebodings concerning an End of the World arise behind the concept of infinity, so out of Being

fears as to an End of History are arising, with man and culture beginning to grow insecure.

History, which hitherto has carried and inspired man, and given him a sense of direction and aim, is today beginning to blur and dissolve, and its energies are being extinguished in the process. Conceptions of decline and fall, perversion and decadence, run like wide cracks across the picture. Ideas of the death of history are going to be just as earnestly debated as those concerning death by heat or cold or atomic conflagration. The end of history makes historic reality transparent, and opens up behind it a dark, discomforting Opposite bearing dæmonic features.

8

Modern scientific research has made it clearer and clearer in the course of the last ten years that the realms both of the organic and the inorganic are determined by the law of hierarchy. At the apex of the hierarchy are molecular or atomic directional centres, upon the actions or reactions of which the whole set-up of the hierarchy in question is dependent. These directional centres are withdrawn from the principle of Cause-and-Effect-as-Natural-Law, for they possess freedom of choice and action. It is true that actions springing from this freedom impose on the hierarchical set-up a chain of causation proceeding from above downwards or from the kernel's centre to the periphery of the shell, and, embracing ever wider masses, roll on by gravitational force ever more compulsively. Thus biophysics knows the phenomenon of " mutation ", which is to say the sudden emergence of new kinds of plants and animals, avalanche-like in their development. The causes of this phenomenon have been located in the free actions and reactions of the molecule containing the hereditary mass of a germinal cell, which by a variation breaks through the causal law of phylogeny.

One may therefore infer that whenever man comes up against the law of causation he has to deal with masses and collective bodies, and, conversely, that masses and collective bodies are subject to the law of causation, while in man, as well as in molecules, the realm of choice is confined to the individual. Causation is the result of freedom and decision in a directional centre at the apex of the hierarchy; of the individual man within the hierarchy of humanity, of the individual atom within the hierarchy of matter, and of the individual molecule in its appropriate hierarchy. The course followed in causation is therefore always of a secondary nature, resulting from a free non-causal event which, as primary cause, set it in motion. Those who set up causation as the supreme law thereby renounce all knowledge

of the First Cause. In the beginning there is always an act carried out in freedom. When it has missed the will of Creation it partakes of guilt.

The rediscovery of the hierarchy, with its directional centres, recalls the theories of Neo-Platonism about the Original One from whose superabundance multiplicity emerges by radiation, and rushes down the ladder of Creation with constantly decreasing perfection, until in Matter and Mass it reaches the lowest and least perfect manifestation of the original God-Force. Again scientific thought approaches religion, inasmuch as a supreme directional centre possessed of absolute freedom within a hierarchy embracing the whole of Creation is the conception of the Christian Creator-God, shining through the figures and formulæ of scientific research.

The Christian individual in any case once constituted such a directional centre at the peak of the human hierarchy. His free act set in motion a causal process which has embraced and involved in itself the collective-body-total of all humanity; or, to express it bio-physically, the germ-cell's action has varied the hereditary mass of the human species and led to a mutation through which a new type of man emerged, who is today master of the whole world and is located in a causal process which is speeding towards catastrophe.

As the mass is subject to the law of causality, the body collective as a compact whole has no chance of escaping from the process, nor of suspending or modifying it. Resembling a beehive or an antheap, the collective body is incompetent to deal with catastrophe, and is subjected to the power of external happening. Therefore, as at the beginning of its development, it establishes leading individuals as boss-representatives of the collective power.

The phenomenon is extending itself over the whole of mankind. In a number of instances it has already realised itself unequivocally. The collective body is represented and led by a single individual, who has become its absolute master. In other instances the process is not yet complete, but the body collective is moving on the same path of development. The number of individuals raised above the undifferentiated masses keeps growing smaller, so that it appears to be only a question of time before a supreme directional centre representing the total power of the collective body is established. Whether the power is vested in a single individual, a Supreme Planning Commission, or a Brains Trust is comparatively unimportant. The process is unmistakable; and as the Collective Total of Humanity is smitten with catastrophe, and compelled to create itself a Supreme Directional Centre, sooner or later the whole of humanity's power will be concentrated in the hands of one organ, either an individual or

a consortium, who, like God, will be Master of the World and, so far as they can be appropriated and exploited by the experimental method, possessed of God's attributes: omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence.

Will this organ be able to avert the catastrophe into which the world collective body is falling? As the supreme executor of the will of the body collective, it can see only the reality of the catastrophe, not its allegorical and secret character. It lacks insight into the genuine causes, and can therefore employ the concentration of power at most to postpone the catastrophe. And as catastrophe is breaking in from the direction of Being, or from that of Natural Creation, the supreme organ of authority will accordingly act against Being and Natural Creation. As the executant of the will of the collective body it represents the last and most potent effort of the collective body to maintain itself at the extreme degree of dæmonic taciturnity against the transformation which the catastrophe demands. As it was created by the body collective and is in need of permanent collective confirmation, it lacks the specific attribute of a directional centre, which is liberty. It possesses power only so long as the body collective confers power upon it; that is to say, so long as it can maintain in the body collective the belief that it is carrying out the collective will. If it lose that belief, its power collapses. Consequently the executor of the collective will, whether as an individual or a consortium, becomes a caricature of a God, its actions displaying the mechanical and automatic qualities of a marionette jerking convulsively to alien wires.

Because it lacks the element of liberty, it lacks also the imponderable grace of an authority, ever wont to be at its strongest at the peak of the hierarchy and greatest where it is most powerless, since it is based upon voluntary acceptance by the collective body.

When the body collective creates the Man-God as the supreme executor of its will, the course of development which began with the Fall of the individual has reached its extreme point. It amounts to a reversal of the true course of development. That becomes clear when it is compared with bio-physical development. The emergence of a new species through the phenomenon of mutation would originate in like case not from the germinal cell's reaction and the modification of the heredity mass, and thus proceed like an avalanche, but the avalanche would rush up the mountain, like a cinema-film shown backwards, and roll on to the directional centre, to cause it to make a modification in the heredity-mass. Modern man is doing that and nothing else. He has massed, and is rolling like an avalanche up the mountain of hierarchy and up to God, and trying to harness Him

to his will. He thereby creates for himself the Man-God. But this God is not in a position to arrest the catastrophe and divert it. He becomes the instrument of another Power which through him will intensify the catastrophe.

As the degenerative process began with the event at the peak of the human hierarchy between God and the Christian Individual, it can be changed only by a new event taking place between the Christian Individual and God. The prerequisites for such an event are easy to establish.

In the midst of a catastrophe which threatens all and convulses everything on which man has based his life, there must arise human beings independent of culture and of consciousness who can thus dispense with confirmation by the collective body. They must accept that utter insecurity where home, family, occupation, the values of culture, and the certainty of consciousness dissolve, and man has nothing on which to maintain himself. They cannot go into the liberty of nothingness in the intoxication of freedom, for that arises from forgetting what was and what is, whereas they must enter into nothingness with a complete awareness of their own guilt. Recognition of one's own guilt is the only ground in a catastrophe which can provide a firm foundation for the individual. And they must wait in this darkness until they can see in what form a Figure Opposite reveals itself, which is present as a dark, unknown, threatening, and discomforting reality. This is the courage of transformation, passing through despair and of uncertain outcome.

It is self-evident that the body collective will never go this way. That is to say, it will go along this road within the course of causation which the catastrophe imposes, but it will also shut itself off to the very limit from recognising the nature of the way! This taciturnity, often easy enough to distinguish, becomes truly dæmonic only when it seizes upon Christian doctrines and imitates the Christian individual, his transformation and rebirth, and hides itself completely behind these masks. Recognition is then more difficult.

It is therefore necessary to recall that Christian doctrine and everything visibly and tangibly representing Christianity also belong to the world of culture and consciousness, which has today been surrendered to annihilation. Christianity's existing values are effective only to the extent to which they have retained their allegorical quality, and thereby possess the power of acting as intermediary between man and God.

Within the catastrophe the Christian individual is not recognised by the historic values of Christianity he has appropriated, not by the enthusiasm of a Faith which often enough conceals nothing but the

intoxication of despair, but by the great sobriety and clear common-sense realism with which he observes the course of events. For since to him they do not possess reality, but are representative of other realities beyond and above them, they are deprived of their dæmonic quality.

As supreme executor of the collective will, it is probable that Man-God will mask himself with all tangible Christian values, and employ them to hang a mantle of authority round his power, as Solovyov describes in the *Story of Anti-Christ*. " Take care ", said Christ, " that no-one misleads you ; for many will come in my name, saying ' I am the Christ ', and they will mislead many." [1] We have so far known only chieftains and leaders who sought to release energies from the destruction of Christian values, drawing the energies to themselves. The task of discrimination is then easy. This will change as the metaphysical threat to mankind becomes apparent, and the political, economic, and social passions which only mask the top surface of events give place to deeper excitations. It is only then that Christianity will have to go through the crisis of its preservation, and it is only in accordance with the sober realism of its tradition to assume that " many false prophets will arise and will deceive many ".

A great deal is already being said about Christianity and its imperishable values; but that is not a good sign. If these values possessed vital force, they would not proclaim themselves but divest themselves of the reality conferred by the body collective and destroy it. They would sail before the storm of the catastrophe and interpret the signs, and the old truths would not be preached from the world's pulpits, but the call to repentance would be borne about in the pseudo-reality of the stalls and markets by men who " take nothing but a stick for the journey, no bread, no wallet, no coppers in their girdle ", as it is said in the Gospels.[2] For it is only men of that calibre who are today free to enter the camps, the casemates, and the cellars where the victims of catastrophe have their lodgement.

Thus the path of the Christian individual is neither plain nor short, but is long and full of difficulties. It is not trod with the word, but in truth is paced only when the word has become Flesh. Perception may well anticipate the need for independence of the values of culture, and the collective body's confirmation. It can even sustain existence in nothingness and come to terms with its own guilt. But it is not to be supposed that the results of following a path through the historic space of half a millennium will be swept aside by the first signs of a transformation preparing within the individual. It is

[1] St. Matt. xxiv. 4 and 5.
[2] St. Mark vi. 8.

much if values confirmed by the collective body as reality are beginning to become once more translucent, and the reality of human existence made clear by St. Paul is once more becoming apparent: "Let those who mix in the world live as if they were not engrossed in it, for the present phase of things is passing away." [1]

Mankind has in any case reached the point where the end of its present course of development can be clearly seen. Yet in the midst of this compulsive course every man is free to go the way which alone enables him to exercise an influence on the course of events. He can create the conditions in which the Event between God and the Christian Individual again becomes possible, and the "Fall" at the peak of the human hierarchy is evened out. This is the concern of each separate man, quite independently of the path taken by the body collective and its fate. The mass will only be changed in the germinal cell, and today each individual—one of the two milliard or more molecules of a collective body—is called by conscience to stand before the Godly Opposite and become a new germinal cell. Cultures are only built up by individuals and only renewed by individuals. Just as Augustus founded the Empire of the Roman Commonwealth, and started the decline of Roman culture, so were men and cultures renewed through individuals who went out into the Nitrian and Sketic deserts. As Jacob Burckhardt wrote in a letter to his friend Preen:

> "Things can only change and grow otherwise through ascetic persons who, independently of the enormously costlier big towns, live far away from all speculative enterprises and from the horrible luxuriousness into which official art and literature have fallen, and help the national spirit and the people's soul to find their true expression again."

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 31.

Chapter

4

THE DARKENING OF CONSCIOUSNESS

I

MAN is an uncompleted being. He lives in insecurity and uncertainty. These are inseparable, like the outside and the inside, for the insecurity of man's existence in the external world corresponds to the uncertainty of his inner experience. The condition results in anguish, and man's effort is directed to creating for himself the security of a perfect being.

He would not be conscious of his imperfection, however, did he not bear within himself the image of perfection. This image is not present in the mind, but in the conscience, yet it makes him realise that the security he has created is an illusion. Anguish is a permanent component of his existence.

This state of things would be insupportable were it not that man's conscience simultaneously reveals to him the living reality of a Perfect Opposite upon whom he is dependent and by whom, as he surrenders himself, he is borne. God's Living Reality is therefore the sole power which makes it possible for man to bear his anguish and eschew a false security. It does not make him a completed and perfected being; on the contrary, it is only when faced with it that he perceives the full measure of his incompleteness and imperfection. As a consequence it is precisely then that he is the most exposed to the temptation to create for himself the comfort of security and certainty.

The possibilities of doing so are many, but, as we all prove, they are temporary expedients. If, for instance, a man succeeds in isolating himself from the reality of age, illness and death, guilt and pain, or in stifling his conscience, and thus liberating himself from the inborn image of perfection, he can live for a certain time in security, but in the end reality breaks violently into the peace of a shell which he has made himself.

Every person is repeatedly subjected to the temptation to anticipate a security and assurance to which he is correlated, but which are not yet his. There is a rhythm in human life as man is pulled backwards

and forwards between security and insecurity, knowledge and ignorance, until he learns to be modest in the sight of God or until death shatters his last refuge.

This rhythm in the individual life is reflected in the life-history of the body collective and the joint effort of the many to create a secure world of completed beings. So long as the collective body remains conscious of its Godly Opposite—so long, that is to say, as the shell of culture is dominated by religious feeling—it will place man in front of God. Therefore the course of history is also marked by the to-and-fro movement displayed in the individual life.

When the separation of part of life from the whole by which man has achieved a deceptive security can no longer be maintained, the parts which he has failed to take up and bring to realisation meet him in the form of dæmonic powers, desirous of annihilating him.

Individual men or collective bodies who are suddenly delivered over by Judgement to the anguish of insecurity will usually be misled by the peace of their previous existence and endeavour to retain it. The individual who has hung his whole existence on another to the point of utter dependence is likely to seek death, or reach an extreme state of reserve if deprived of this person by sudden death. He will traverse a long path through intoxication and despair before being able to find a new way of life. With collective bodies and cultures the process lasts the longer, but men and collective bodies will take extreme measures to defend their old existence before reaching acceptance and a willingness to resume in themselves the separated parts of the Whole, and thus to transmute themselves.

An external observer contemplating human beings in this phase of development will be continually amazed by man's incapacity for adaptation. As seen from the outside only a comparatively small change is required to avoid being shattered and perhaps annihilated. The possibility and need of such transformation can easily be realised, yet man always chooses to defend his retreat to the very last cartridge, and expose himself to the danger of extinction rather than lay down his arms.

If dæmoniac reserve in the individual is immense in such a situation, it is yet greater in the body collective. The individual will still be subject to constraint from his conscience; but the collective body has no conscience, which becomes accessible to it only through the individual. And, by the very confirmation it accords to all its members, the collective body debars the individual from the voice of conscience, being always ready to assure him of its unreality. The individual stricken by conscience must therefore have the courage and strength to break in on the consciencelessness

of the body collective and deny its right of confirmation. It is possible to do both these things only when a voice not his own thunders through the individual, and he knows himself to be called and chosen. The outstanding example is offered by the Jewish prophets.

Man's obtuseness is astonishing only when one contemplates it from outside; it seems natural when one experiences it oneself. The voluntary renunciation of everything upon which life has been based, which transformation demands, is generally impossible as a sudden decision, since man cannot free himself from his present existence until he has recognised and worked upon its antecedents. He cannot obliterate the traces of his path. He can free himself from its continuing effect only by retracing his steps. But when he turns back he is already a different person. This is the paradox. He reaches it only through the torment of anguish.

Consequently the inner change takes place with amazing slowness. Every fraction of a millimetre is gained by mighty effort and suffering, until the event which is theologically labelled rebirth occurs. The transformation of a collective body, which can happen only as the result of changes in its individual members, demands a period proportionate to its historic time-scale. It requires great effort and causes severe pain. Such historic transformations are termed crises.

Within the collective shell of culture there are, quite apart from innumerable individual crises, the minor social crises. The upper classes who appear secure and complete are displaced by the excluded and oppressed, who promptly fall into the same conceit and suffer the upheaval of the class next beneath them. Thus ever wider strata flow into the shell of culture, until it contains all the members of the body collective. Crises in which a dominant social stratum comes under judgement do not burst the shell of culture itself and they do not endanger the collective body as a whole.

The great historical crises, when collective bodies are themselves shattered, occur when elementary forces from natural creation, or the suppressed elements in human nature break in. It is only in such crises that man is placed by history under the necessity of transforming his whole shape of life. They demand not a transformation of the social forms but of man himself, and are only to be apprehended from this depth.

The great historical crises are not very numerous, as indeed the great cultures themselves have not been very numerous. Beginning with man's falling away from God, they lead—it may be through the complete annihilation of culture—to a point where the Whole reappears and man once more encounters the Godly Opposite.

Their course is uncertain only because it is conditioned by the readiness of the individual to accept transmutation, and the degree of immurement he can attain in his efforts to avoid it.

The fact that the beginning and end of these crises can be understood should not mislead us into thinking that they are easy to overcome, for they usually shatter a whole culture. The danger was observed by so cool an observer of history as Macchiavelli and three hundred years later by the Spaniard, Donoso Cortes.

> " Where fear of God is deficient ", wrote the former, " any empire must decay, or else must be maintained upright by fear of a Prince who supplies the defects of religious awe."
>
> " The world is hastening with big strides towards the erection of a despotism, more potent and destructive than any mankind has every experienced," wrote the latter. " One means, and one only, can avert the catastrophe. It will not be avoided by the grant of more liberties, more rights or new constitutions, but it can be avoided if all of us, each according to his powers, is engrossed in provoking a healthy religious reaction. Is such a reaction possible ? Yes it is. But is it likely ? And here I answer in deepest distress : I do not regard it as likely. I have indeed seen and known a number of personalities who have returned after having fallen away from the Faith, but unfortunately I have never yet seen a whole people which had lost its faith return to it."

The sinister thing about the crisis is that it is not to be recognised by outside manifestations, though millions may be killed and innumerable towns laid waste. For when it constitutes the judgement on a state of culture and is aimed at man's transformation it will destroy the culture so long as men are incapable of transmutation. They are left to discover its meaning.

If the living reality of God does not constitute a compulsive truth for the public life of a particular culture, one can be sure that it has attained a degree of security, and therefore of separation from the Whole, which sets it directly before crisis and judgement. If it passes into crisis without any religious elements emerging and growing clear, then certainly what is in question is a great historical convulsion.

This, however, can only be established from without, either by a stranger not directly affected, or by someone surveying the crisis retrospectively as history. The contemporary undergoing crisis either seeks to maintain himself in his own security, and is thus shut off from Living Reality of God, or else grasps the meaning of crisis

after his own mutation and conversion; that is to say, from his conscience, having thus left the field of consciousness.

The great historical crises can only be apprehended and interpreted by conscience. The truth escapes from the categories of consciousness and assumes a prophetic character. If this perception is lacking or wants effective power, the crisis brings man to that extreme point where, suicide apart, he is left with no other choice than surrender. This extreme point is that of despair.

The path into despair leads over the collapse of culture and the darkening of consciousness, which condition each other. If a man has the props of his consciousness in the external world of culture shattered by the advent of the crisis, his inner certainty begins to decline proportionately. If the destruction of his circumstantial world assumes chaotic forms, then the darkening of his consciousness can lead to a point from which he may lose his consciousness and fall back into the preconscious conditions of magic. In this we are faced with the irruption of elementary excluded and suppressed forces. They re-establish the Whole, but in the process man becomes their football and is slung back to the beginning of his course of development. He becomes the tool of crisis, lacking all will of his own. The crisis is then nearing its peak point.

In the world of magic the excluded and suppressed forces reunite with the Whole of man's being. He is not possessed of them, however, but becomes obsessed by them, in a world populated by spirits and dæmons. He is thus back at the beginning, experiencing its anguish and darkness, and must wrestle with the dæmons until he can free himself by finding again in his conscience the lost image of his perfection, which places him before the Godly Opposite. In this darkness the crisis comes to its end, either in transmutation-conversion or in annihilation.

2

The external side of the crisis of the West and the world-crisis associated with it has gone on increasing throughout the last thirty-four years. This fact can be visibly demonstrated. It can also be shown by means of statistics, which display a constantly rising curve for the values destroyed, including man himself. From this it may be inferred that man has not yet succeeded in establishing the causes of the crisis and removing them.

After the shattering quarter-century which has passed over humanity in the West like an earthquake, and convulsed all mankind, any provisional statement would prove unsatisfactory, since it would show only the Loss side of the account and leave the Gains un-

recorded. For man finds himself in a world which has not perceptibly changed between the beginning of the crisis and the destruction and darkening. The world political situation is squally, internal politics are distorted, the economic position is grave, and the social situation worse than ever. Among the intellectuals emptiness prevails, and the world of religion stands now, as ever, far away on the outskirts of this world.

Man is no longer looking out from the shiny panes of a pleasant room on to the world, but through the windows of a barrack or between the rusty iron gratings of a cellar; but this external difference is all that separates him from the man at the beginning of the crisis. As at the beginning, he sees the dark clouds on the horizon, and is determined to maintain and defend himself by all means. With the same consciousness of perfection he moves through the ruins under which his pride of possessions lies buried, as once he did along gaily lit boulevards. In a word, the crisis has not yet reached its end. Few people are unaware of the fact.

It is precisely man's capacity for persistence which makes the darkening of his consciousness significant. Certainly it is the fact that whole classes and whole peoples grow weary and collapse, but others are always ready to step into the vacant places and defend them with fresh strength. New dæmons break out from the unconscious depths of being and ally themselves with the dæmons breaking in from the dark realm of Natural Creation, to heighten the crisis; and they are served by men to whom nothing inhuman is alien any longer.

For a great historical crisis thirty-four years are a mere nothing; it must be reckoned by centuries. Man no longer, as he did at the beginning, expects the imminent end of crisis and a return to the old security, but is prepared for it to last a long time with no return to "normal". This is not the result of positive perception, however, but is rather a fatal surrender to an event which has become blind and mechanical.

The means employed to master the event must be incorporated in one of the categories of consciousness, supported upon the mathematical-experimental method by which natural science has attained its triumphs. The method assumes that what faces man is alien and dead, working like a machine with which neither God nor man can interfere. Man, too, is subject to the laws of mechanism, and in so far as he is not a conscious being, he is an automaton. But in consciousness he gains an insight into the laws, and, being superior to mechanism, is removed from compulsion and necessity. Consciousness is thus the sole area of his freedom.

Consciousness it assumes, is inborn, and to that extent all men are equal. Since every man is possessed of consciousness, and is therefore in a position to test and judge the perceptions of other men, every man is equally possessed of truth. Truth itself is once more established by the mathematical method, since it arises from the majority decision of all the persons asked.

That consciousness is capable of perceiving everything is regarded as beyond all question. Man lives in a world which constantly affirms the fact. Things still beyond the grasp of consciousness engage the attention of countless experts, and that they will be finally mastered is not to be doubted. None the less, some men are still living in primitive spheres of life, preconscious or subconscious. Such men admittedly possess consciousness, but they have not yet discovered it, or have not yet found the courage to rely on themselves. They are still the captives of crazy dark imaginings born of man's creature anguish. But in our day, when humanity has been illumined far and wide, such types are rare. The representative type is the man who relies on the strength of his own consciousness.

In order fully to appreciate the peculiarity of the type, it is necessary to compare modern man with men in earlier ages.

How did earlier man react to a crisis like today's when it broke over him? His situation was easier inasmuch as he had an *a priori* understanding of the cause of events, and could immediately take appropriate action as he understood it. Every difficulty he regarded as a God-sent punishment for sin, to be met with cries of "Repent and atone, for the end of the world is at hand".

This reaction, which we find most clearly in the utterances of the Old Testament prophets, characterises all peoples throughout the thousands of years of human history. Atonement and fasts and sacrifices belong to man's heritage. Almost to our own day they have been the means whereby man hoped to meet the heavy blows of destiny. Destiny was but the sign that God's punitive hand lay heavy on tribe, clan, or person, and each individual felt involved in the guilt.

Causality, therefore, presented no problem. It was settled in advance. Whatever occurred was sent from God as punishment for human delinquencies. The means to exert an influence on destiny were therefore to hand. Early man did not accept destiny passively, but turned his attention directly to himself or his fellows. He had two tasks before him: to wash himself clean of his sins before the tribe, and to appease God. To do so he betook himself to repentance and atonement, and thus began to come to terms with

himself. From the standpoint of early man it was absurd to try to avoid the blows of destiny, or assume an active defensive against them, for that would have meant revolting against God and trying to compete with Him. Blows were to be accepted as merited punishment, and in the midst of sufferings which were hard enough to bear, men began scourging and chastening themselves to appease God and re-establish the proper order of the world brought into confusion by their obstinacy.

Modern man has escaped from this point of view too lately not to feel a certain amount of resentment when it is advanced, which makes it difficult for him to judge objectively. He becomes impatient and bellicose, as though forced to defend his own conception of causality; and he cites evidence to show that the earlier conception was primitive and lacking in realism.

After man's consciousness discovered the mechanism of the universe and succeeded in compassing its laws to the extent that prophecies hundreds of years ahead became normal, God's stature as Ruler and Master of the universe became defective, for His weightiest attribute—that of freedom—was removed. He became bound to the mechanism like man, at most possessing a deeper insight into its laws. No longer can he despatch a comet as a sign to men. Man knows perfectly well when the comet will appear, vanish, and reappear. And so the Person of God, the Ruler and Master, leading as He does a disconnected existence on the outskirts of man's thought, is being more and more supplanted by neutral and secular concepts of " the Almighty ", " Providence ", " the Decree Divine ", and " Destiny ", which leave it in open question whether God exists at all, and if so in what form; though all such concepts are permeated with the idea of mechanism, God being the First principle.

Hence man cannot conceive of any happening as being " sent " by God. That secularized " It " which may be found on the far side of any event is no longer playing an active part in world events. And so we lose the second link in the chain of causation uniting men's delinquencies to great troubles sent as warnings and punishments from God.

Man, the first link, no longer has a guilty sense of responsibility, as a cause of events through his sinfulness. He, too, vanishes as the responsible cause of events. Causality in earlier days moved in a closed cycle from man and his actions to God, and from God back again over the actions to man. Man was only capable of affecting the cycle by giving a deeper and more inward form to the relationship between himself and God, by importing a new factor into the cycle through the transformation of his own self. This closed cycle no

longer exists today. Events have become independent, whether of God or man.

But if both poles, between whom events vibrate, are lacking, if neither man is recognised as a first original cause nor God as judge over Nature and History—who, then, is the cause of an event, and of what nature is modern man's conception of causality?

On the analogy of the Cosmic Clockwork, with its eternal immutable laws, every event, possessed of independence both of God and man, has the quality of a law unto itself, has become autonomous, existing in its own right, and neither God nor man can intervene. On that basis man would be delivered over helpless to events, the victim of powers that thrust him blindly hither and thither. Robbed of former causality, he would be ground between the millstones of autonomous happenings taking place in accordance with their own laws. This is not the case, for man bases his existence on the power of his consciousness. Human consciousness possesses an insight into the flow of events and perceives their necessity. Through such perception man becomes sure of the event and can anticipate it. That is to say, man remains still bound to necessity, but his consciousness rises to liberty above it.

Consciousness which enables man to meet and rise superior to whatever happens sets him in the position previously held by God. One can therefore formulate the essential difference between the former conception of causality and that of today as follows: God's place has been taken by human consciousness! The polarity between human sinfulness and God's anger has been abolished, and replaced by a new polarity between human consciousness and the autonomous quality of events.

We are dealing here with a conception of causality fundamentally different from that which earlier prevailed. Perception of an occurrence has become the central and important problem for modern man, whereas his predecessor possessed in his belief in God an *a priori* insight into the correlation of cause and effect. The hardest blows of destiny could not shatter him in this respect. Rather did they reinforce his sense of causality as displaying God's power and anger in the sight of everyman. It was precisely in the grievousness of events that the truth of God's existence was made manifest.

Modern man, on the other hand, is experiencing through an historic crisis a grievous shattering of his former conception of causality. The crisis does not attest the truth of what he had regarded as his perception, but in very fact attests its untruth. Within the framework of his former conception a crisis was out of the question; it would have had to be foretold and prevented in good

time. Destiny bursting in upon him proves that his calculations were marred by error. He is confused by events, and uncertain of the means he should use to master them. He knows only that his destiny depends upon his consciousness discovering the correlation between cause and effect and showing him a way out of the crisis. The impulse to direct attack increases the more grievously the event weighs upon him. Every occurrence seems to contain a personal challenge to action; but his consciousness cannot yet tell him where he is to get busy and what he is to do.

Thus man is reduced to a painful state of inner schism. His desire for action cannot be discharged immediately, as was the case when he turned straight to repentance, but is dammed up within him, waiting more and more impatiently for signs to be given by consciousness. But consciousness, the central holdfast in his existence, has to prove its value for the first time in a crisis which has displayed the full scope of his problems, and it is on the defensive, beset with secret doubts about itself and its values.

An historical crisis did not lead man in earlier times to a crisis about God, which would have convulsed his whole metaphysical existence. But the consciousness of being in the middle of a crisis produces in the man of today a crisis of consciousness, which does convulse his metaphysical existence. He is deprived of his only handhold and of his metaphysical foundation, and meets a menace not only of a material and a moral kind, but one which strikes against him intellectually, and thus forces him into a crisis of belief.

Faced with an historic crisis, therefore, modern man is in a far graver situation than man of old. The crisis bears more heavily, more mercilessly upon him, without his being in any position to apperceive its causes or to put into immediate effect the desire which wells up in him of taking appropriate action. If we attribute any real influence upon the course of the crisis to the atonement, fasts, and sacrifices by which men in bygone ages sought to master events—and within the framework of the earlier point of view we have to do so—then we must say also that men in the past could exert a quicker, more direct, and immediate effect upon events than modern man, who, instead of looking for the causes of events in himself, in the obstinacy of his will and the sinfulness of his being, seeks them in the events themselves, which break in upon him, alien and autonomous.

And hereby the character of events has changed fundamentally. Previously they had no reality in themselves, but were an instrument of God for governing man. If the cycle is broken and God and man separated, the event itself is no longer an allegory, but thrusts straight and hard directly on to man, and puts him under real and

brutal duress. Anguish and fear, hope and expectation, and prayers for pity and forgiveness—these atavisms may break forth from the souls of primitive men, but they dash senselessly upon the necessity and autonomous nature of the event. The event has become unapproachable by speech.

In his dire need, man might relapse into the earlier causality and long to call upon God. It would be hopeless, however, for even were God existent, far on the outskirts of the universe, modern man concedes Him no power to brush through the laws of our world-order and to influence the event. It is precisely the grievousness of the event which becomes a proof of the powerlessness of God. There have been not a few men in the last decades whose belief in God has been shattered by the hardness of their experiences. Many a man came back from the world-war saying, " If there really were a God, He would not have let this thing happen, therefore He is powerless and does not exist; but if in fact He did exist and had let this thing happen, then I would renounce Him and have no further dealings with Him."

What lies at the basis of this conception tells us a good deal about modern man. In his security and certainty he insured against eventualities, and built himself an image of a " dear kind God ". " The dear kind God " is pictured as very old, very impotent, but very good-hearted—rather like some old grandad in an easy-chair. Such a God must fall victim to a world-crisis, and the image of the " dear kind God " soon collapsed. The God who judges and punishes and rages is beyond the reach of modern man. He locks himself off against every convulsion which threatens to overwhelm him, and tries to keep a cool head and remain apart and wide-awake and neutral, believing that to be indispensable for the perception of events. He meets the assault of destiny by heightening his consciousness. Conscience and consciousness—these characterise the difference between early man and man today.

3

A superficial picture of the crisis and its effect upon humanity might differ very little from that of earlier crises.

Times of great historic change are always marked by a swirling up of the vast reserves of human energy. Thus was it when Christian preaching stirred up the people and spread like wildfire through the Roman Empire. So was it in the second great change of the West, when, towards the end of the Middle Ages, wandering preachers passed through Europe and thousands hung on their words. The voices of Richard Antoine, Vincent Ferrer, Olivier Maillard, Savonarola the

preacher of repentance, and many lesser known Franciscans and Dominicans thundered through the countries of the West.

Business would stop in the town to which Vincent Ferrer came.

> "Seldom was it that he did not make his hearers weep, and if he was talking of the Last judgement and the penalties of hell, or of Our Lord's Sufferings, he, like his hearers, burst into loud weeping, and had to be silent for quite a while until the weeping had quieted down. Repentant sinners used to cast themselves down upon the earth before anyone who was present and confess their great sins with tears.
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> "When in 1485 the famous preacher Olivier Maillard delivered the Lenten Sermons at Orleans, so many people clambered up on the roofs of the houses that the slate-fitters put in a bill for 64 days' work on repairs. The popular preacher Brother Richard preached in Paris in 1429 for ten days on end. He talked from crack of dawn till ten or eleven in the forenoon on the *Place des Innocents*. When he was finally leaving Paris the people believed that he would preach again on the Sunday at St. Denis; in great crowds, described by the *Bourgeois de Paris* as at least 6000 each, the people sallied forth from the town on the Saturday night to be sure of a good place in the morning after passing all night in the open." [1]

This swirling up of reserve human forces is as strong today as it was then. Everywhere people are breaking through the private enclosure of home, family, and profession, and pack together to listen to the Word. Anyone seeing only the outer picture, and hearing the sound of the words without getting their meaning, would perceive no difference between earlier times and today. Yet there is an essential and important difference. The Word used to strike the hearer direct, and expose his guilt and delinquency. Preachers and monks acted like flails, drawing back from nothing, least of all from their audiences. They did not talk of the crisis, but the crisis itself spoke direct through them to man; which is to say that behind them stood the Authority of God. What a pitiless and utterly dauntless gravity there is in the words of the old prophets who stood with only God's support against the whole people, king and commoner, rich and poor, and called upon them to come to the reckoning!

Today man traces his suffering to the fact that consciousness has not yet grasped the causes of the crisis and their interconnections, and it is only this illumination which he expects from the Word. The Word itself consequently lacks the authority which, intent upon

[1] I. Huizinga: *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Munchen, 1920).

God, showed man his corruption. Lacking authority, it cannot dare to speak against man, but is directed to obtaining agreement and applause, which support and raise it up. It is no longer God's Word, but originates in human consciousness, conveying what it believes it has perceived to its hearers' consciousness. If it meets with approval, the Word has reached its end. Having become dependent upon man, it must plead for man's acceptance to gain power. It no longer comes from above and bears the mark of quality, but comes from below and endeavours to gain acceptance and validity by sheer quantity.

What seemed beyond question to earlier man—namely, that his nature caused him to sin—has become incomprehensible to modern man. He cannot be persuaded that he is guilty and that the cause of evil happenings may be in him. What distinguishes our times is the rational abstractness of the Word, limited as it is to consciousness in its parade of knowledgeableness. The most difficult of scientific lectures and books enjoy a wide public, which follows the complicated expositions with the same breathless excitement as the masses of the Middle Ages did the sermons of the monks. The pulpit has yielded to the Professional Chair. A scientific theory at once drags in its trail innumerable books and articles, in which the facts will be made clear to all men. The prestige of Science was enormous at the beginning of the crisis. The professorial word evoked an almost religious eagerness to listen, and it was in those areas where man felt the thrust to his existence most painfully, in the realm of material life, of Economics, Finance and Social Science, that the authority of the Word which flew all around the world was paramount.

The Word was not, however, limited to scientific knowledge, but consciousness and the possibility of perception were accorded to every single man without exception. An intensive and total super-consciousness developed a seismographic hypersensitivity to the tiniest events, comparable with none of the historic epochs known to us. An event anywhere on the globe takes on an aspect of total simultaneity, total world-interest, and total interpretation. The conquest of space and time has led to news not merely agitating the minds of a small intellectual stratum, but forcing itself upon the notice of every single person; and the current attitude to world affairs drives the individual to interpretation. The humblest peasant in Norway almost simultaneously knows and feels an occurrence in central China. No longer does he know of it as something finite and historically past, but he lives through every nuance of it. A crop failure in Canada is just as important to the Norwegian peasant as a sheep infection in Australia. And when he discusses such matters

it is no longer from man's inborn joy in palaver, but from an earnest struggle for perceptive knowledge, upon which he has to base his whole existence.

From that soil grows the abundance of interpretations and critiques which burst out of the physical space of our libraries and the intellectual capacity of our brains, and are so characteristic of the last decades of Western development. By such means consciousness strives to secure its own position and master the crisis.

Lack of an inner sense of guilt finds its complement in the hardness with which modern man regards himself and his fellows. In earliest days it would have been taken as satanic in origin. Yet it develops logically from basing the whole of existence upon consciousness. For consciousness must be fenced off from the body and from what used to be termed the " soul ", the urges, passions, and instincts, the whole scale of feeling, of believing, loving, and hoping. Consciousness must be kept clear of the emotional life, which might otherwise interfere with clear, unbiased thinking, bringing logic into confusion, and darkening perception.

Man today is hard. Hard first and foremost against himself. So hard that one is often tempted to class him as pathological. He manifests an astonishing insensitivity to pain, both bodily and spiritual, to which he deliberately makes himself unreceptive. By long training, Western man has raised his consciousness to a lonely height, and created for his conscious Ego such a measure of independence that he can face all the rest of his bodily and spiritual existence as coolly and matter-of-factly as he can the events of the external world. Being now at home in his consciousness alone, he has made himself a stranger to himself.

He suffers, for instance, from hunger and thirst, in the corporeal realm, and in the spiritual realm experiences joy and grief, desire and pain. But from the viewpoint of his conscious Ego he can look neutral and unmoved—" objectively ", as is said today—upon himself as a hungry and thirsty, a happy and wretched object, as on to a perfect stranger. Ernst Jünger points to this faculty of modern man in respect of pain :

> " With increasing power of objectivisation,"—that is, with the heightening of consciousness—" the measure of pain which can be borne increases. It almost seems as though man were possessed of an urge to create a kind of space in which pain can be regarded as an illusion. The flesh, disciplined with such painful care by the will, evokes somewhence the conception that it has grown quite indifferent to injury. The fact that we

are today in a position to contemplate death far more coolly, is to no small extent explicable by the fact that we are no longer so at home in our own bodies as we used to be." [1]

What does his body mean to the man of today? No doubt it is a piece of living matter, worthy of wonder. It would be false to say that it meets with less consideration than of old. On the contrary, it enjoys more consideration than when it was regarded as the seat of the sensual animal instincts, the prison of the soul, the vehicle of all desires and passions which cut man off from his heavenly home, and which therefore had to be subordinated by asceticism ranging from the fast down to the self-castration of Origen. But modern man regards it as something alien which he can mould in accordance with his will. He starves, if he desires to become thin, with a discipline not less rigorous than that of the ancient ascetic. He employs instruments and acids to adapt his body to his ideal. He is not afraid of surgical intervention, modelling the living flesh as the sculptor does dead stone or clay.

Bodily culture in every sense is highly developed. Sport is one of modern man's great passions, and he likes to argue the necessity of rescuing the body from the degenerative effects of civilisation. This would be an admirable tendency were it not that sport today has already become the very expression of that civilisation. The speed with which a man can run or swim, the height he can jump, or the length of time he can keep his body at a given task—these are the ends for which the body is martyred, through a pitiless training which differs little from monkish chastisements. Training for sport seems to have replaced the religious exercises of an earlier age. It is practised with the same zeal and morbidness, but the target has been a little moved. Whereas the monk desired to draw closer to God and to perfect himself, the sportsman yearns to knock the fraction of a second or of a centimetre off the record.

The body has become an object of the will, has been made subject to consciousness. If the ideal of a strong and healthy physique is exalted today, it does not mean a body at rest in itself and in Nature, such as characterised the early stages of a culture. The body today is strained by the will to breaking point, with every muscle and sinew exploited to the limit of its output capacity. A bundle of nerves linked together and steeled for action by the will, it is driven with the same calculating coolness as a motor or an aeroplane. A striking example is the long-distance runner, watch in hand, meticulously

[1] Ernst Jünger: *Uber den Schmerz* ("Concerning Pain") (Blätter & Steine, 1934).

observing the working of his body. He is as cool and unmoved inside his body as in a car, following as if on an instrument-board the work of the muscles, the tempo of lungs and heart, and the fuel reserve. In accordance with these, he regulates his course with careful exactitude until he reaches the tape at the end, after which he collapses and is carried off. The Marathon runner also collapsed and died, but his sacrifice had meaning.

The films provide another example of straining to overcome the body of consciousness. Of late years there has been a vast increase of torture scenes. The hero is subjected to gruesome bodily pain, to break his will. If he loses consciousness he is carefully reinvigorated to feel his torments again. Something is demanded of his consciousness—a word, a bit of information, a renunciation, or the like—which he refuses to give. He has to remain firm and refuse what is demanded of him. These are the scenes which the public follows with breathless interest.

One misses the implication of this satanic phenomenon by ascribing it to sadistic perversion. If the man who but now was breathlessly following the torture of his fellow-man emerges into the street and sees an animal being cruelly treated, he is at once roused to indignation. Cruelty to animals moves him deeply and passionately, whereas he finds satisfaction in watching the torture of human beings. The animal has no consciousness, the man has. The animal has no conscious will; in man the conscious will can be raised so far above the body that he can bear pain to the very limit where he loses consciousness. The man in the cinema desires to have his point of view confirmed; he desires to be assured that consciousness is superior to all bodily contingencies. He would modify Luther's " Defence and Defiance " song, as follows :

> " Take away from us our Bodies and Estates, our Honour, our Wives and our Children—yet must our Consciousness be left with us ! "

These torture-films are symptomatic. Subject to grievous events man seeks to prove that, despite all hardship and pain, his consciousness is not to be broken. That is what is hidden behind the phenomenon, which for the rest often over-reaches the limits of the endurable.[1]

[1] Here are a few among the many examples :

In the *Mutiny on the Bounty*, a man is bound to a cross and flogged. The doctor affirms " He is dead ". The captain orders " Go on flogging him ! "

In *Gold to Singapore* the hero has his foot squashed flat in a mediæval torture-boot.

The raising of consciousness above pain extends to other mental states and to matters of the heart. Today it is regarded as blameworthy to give expression to one's state of mind. There is an unwritten but generally accepted law that one must "keep face", remain disciplined, reserved, and impenetrable. Mankind's greatest emotions are bridged over, and even young persons learn in early years to shackle their enthusiasm. Shakespeare's great passions have become remote to them. *The Robbers* or *The Prince of Homburg* are nearer to their ideals. Stoical calmness, impenetrable reserve, and ironical scepticism are the concepts which mark young faces almost like frozen grimaces, until they become second nature.

The young man knows how to conduct himself towards love and death long before he meets either of them. His consciousness has fashioned itself a compulsive form lifted from the films, radio, or literature. It is nothing but an artificial mask, but constantly controlled and mastered by his consciousness, it gives an illusion of real life. If first-hand experience and feeling intrude there is little he can do with them, for they explode the closed forms created by his conscious will, thereby casting him back to a stage of Unconscious Being he thought to have overcome long ago.

Let us consider in this respect one of man's basic feelings. Love is a primeval experience very liable to convulse him and bring him to a state of enthusiasm. On the basis of consciousness, however, he encounters it in a mood of superiority. Long before he really meets the opposite sex he has armed with the scepticism, irony, and cynical calmness which are to prevent him losing his head and his heart. He is not always successful in that. In many instances the experience proves stronger and breaks down emotional reserves. But it does look as though the number of those who maintain their superiority is on the increase. The lack of excitement in the relationship between the sexes points that way. Comradeship on the one hand, and a certain sober factuality in matters erotic on the other hand, have scaled down the intercourse between the sexes to a physiological act; and Not Taking It Too Seriously and Not Seeking Any Uplift From It are often contrasted favourably with former states of enthusiasm, and commended as signs of greater health and naturalness. Unfortunately, the naturalness is a kind of

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In *Bengali* sharpened shoots are thrust up under his finger-nails.
In *Help for Garcia* he is tormented with red-hot iron.
In *Viva Villa* a man is flogged to death, etc.

There are but limited means of physically torturing human beings, so that the Assistant Directors find no other expedients than their oriental and mediæval predecessors.

cold consciousness aloof from body and soul alike. The tension between the sexes has been lost. Even in shape men and women are growing more like each other, and find a common ideal in the nice boyish figure.

Confusion in erotic love is shown in the growth of homosexualism, now a serious problem in the West. The causes of the phenomenon are manifold, but not least among them is the fear lest heterosexual passion endangers and perhaps destroys the forms created by consciousness. It is the essence of love to melt and transform man. Every real meeting between man and woman leads to destruction and rebirth. The person who lives out of his inner self has no need to fear this transformation. But anyone who lives only from consciousness encounters danger. His Ego is overburdened or left behind, and is sharply opposed to what he represents. The abyss between external appearance and internal Being has grown so gigantic that it can no longer be spanned. There are men who remain infantile, but assume an appearance exceeding their physical age. Inwardly they are perhaps fourteen or fifteen years old, whereas they are actually in their thirtieth year, and represent the life-mould of a man of fifty. In such cases a real meeting with the opposite sex would mean catastrophe, and for that reason will be anxiously avoided. The man turns either to fantasies or takes refuge in homosexuality, in which the conflict between the sexes has no place.

Consciousness thus does not only become the Lord of the Body, it also becomes Lord of the Emotions. And in a situation which, in the past, would necessarily have shattered man spiritually, we get an almost complete *volte-face* in the relationship between soul and consciousness. In moments of emotional intensity, grave or gay, earlier man asked, How can I contain myself? He seems to us quite beside himself, and we are amazed that he was not ashamed of his own tears. The man of today, on the other hand, asks, How can I show my sympathy? Earlier man searched his consciousness. The man of today searches his feelings. In bright moments of love or joy, or the dark encounters of the hospital or morgue, the latter no longer reacts immediately from within, but mediately, through conscious reflection. His emotions are determined by his consciousness, played as an actor plays his role, while the man keeps an attentive eye upon himself.

The man does not, of course, acknowledge to himself or others his peculiar way of behaving. He would be irritatedly on the defensive against any such suggestion. But anyone capable of being quite honest with himself will be able to remember the following situation and . . . keep it to himself! Once upon a time Love, or Death, stood

before him. They emerged from the twilight kingdom of his dreams, where he imagined he had great reserves of feeling, and came before him as a present reality. He gazed into their faces, and was oppressed and astonished at remaining cold. "Now that is Love," he told himself, "and that is Death", and listened intently for the echo in himself. But echo there was none. There was a little pause, as when an actor fails to catch his cue. He knows the pause is out of place. Then he lays hold of one of the many chromo-lithographs and strips of old film which lie about in the chamber of his consciousness, and begins to adapt himself, using the more suitable examples for the purpose. But disillusionment remains. For a dizzy moment of perception he knew himself to be quite void.

Not only is Love on the high road to becoming a farce, Death, too, is losing its significance. There are two ways of taking the sting from death. One is to overcome it by conviction that it is a bridge to fuller life. The other is to devalue all that death can destroy.

The triviality of death in the midst of so much emptiness is shown by our burial rites, at which people appear utterly unreal. A man in the pulpit, who has never seen the dead man before, far less known him, declaims sorrowfully with the resonant voice of an actor. Earnest fellows dressed in black make convulsive efforts to think up something moving in order to get at least a dampness into their eyes. Organ, fiddle, and cello endeavour to aid them in this task. And at some point in the proceedings the dead man vanishes into the earth or into the technical interment of the crematorium. It is all terribly grotesque.

The split between the consciousness and the soul creates an astonishing insensitiveness, so that people move about secure and unconcerned through experiences which would have broken their ancestors. If in earlier days millions had been killed, and millions left without bread and work, stricken by famine, a wave of repentance and generosity would have risen. Men would have leapt to each other's assistance, a stream of love would have poured forth. Such is not the case today. Millions dead and millions unemployed are only a proof that consciousness has not grasped the causality of events. They admittedly compel men to accord limited and provisional help, but only half-heartedly. Men are preoccupied in mastering the situation and excluding any possibility of its repetition in the future.

The belief of an earlier age, that misfortune is evidence of human error and God's directive intervention, might have led to the corollary that the intervening to help would be opposing God's punitive purpose. But man did not feel himself an isolated unit, but always a

part of the community, inside the clan, the tribe, and finally all humanity as descended from Adam, and burdened as a community with sin. His fellow-man's guilt was also his own, the misfortune of his neighbour was his misfortune, and the ensuing punishment his too. There was a communal guilt and a communal responsibility of mankind before God.

The opposing view actually developed in the West as the sense of deep linkage between man and man faded out, and made way for the consciousness of individual detachment and isolation. Our modern times no longer posited man as a member of a community, but as an individual directly before God. Calvinism fostered a religiously based human type, but one caged off from other men; one which certainly continued as heretofore to count fortune and misfortune as reward and punishment by God, but on an individual basis. One's own good fortune came to be regarded as the outward sign of Divine Favour and Election, and a fellow-creature's misfortune as proof of his depravity and guilt. The opposite idea persisted down to the end of the last century in Russia, where even the criminal was regarded as victim of the general sinfulness of the human species, whose guilt was to be shared by all. The criminal here became the " unfortunate ", whereas according to Calvinistic concepts the " unfortunate " man easily becomes the criminal.

Man of today judges the misfortune of his fellows in a different manner. Maladroitness and misfortunes are attributed to the inadequacy of a man's consciousness. The unhappy man thus falls into the role of the blockhead, lacking in perception. The man himself is guilty of his misfortune, but is being punished not by God, but by his own stupidity. Hence he can be helped only by a superior consciousness coming to his aid, analysing his situation, and giving him a new confirmation of his own consciousness, thus reinforcing his self-consciousness. Love lifts the Other Man above himself, consciousness sets him below himself; love prays for the Other Man, consciousness thinks for him; weeping over one's fellow-man is bound up with love, while mockery and laughter over his stupidity are bound up with consciousness.

The unfortunate and the criminal, once close together in the view of the Russian people as examples of a general human sinfulness and guilt, are brought together again in the view of modern man as examples of human stupidity. The fact that the criminal is caught is regarded as the ultimate proof of his stupidity; a sign that his consciousness is too weakly developed and that primitive urges and passions sometimes gain the upper hand. Society's protective machinery works with a precision that is impeccable, as the detective

novel, where the stronger intelligence serving the Right triumphs over the more stupid powers of the underworld, amply proves.

The uncaught criminal presents an interesting problem, however. He arouses a certain amount of admiration today, since he is another evidence of the power of human consciousness. The big gangster is a great chap, who by his intelligence escapes retribution for his crimes. He cannot be caught. And indeed the moment he is caught he forfeits sympathy. Then it is that the indignation of humanity breaks upon him. He can only retain a measure of esteem by remaining cold and cynical and unmoved as he proceeds to his execution, since this proves that human consciousness can rise superior to death.[1]

To borrow a phrase from the boxing-ring, modern man is " tough in giving, tough in taking ". Enclosed in consciousness, isolated from the soul as from the body, he is not easily shattered and does not readily lose his head. He has cast overboard the mighty ballast which earlier man used to carry round with him. Man was once a deep, unfathomable secret, burdened with a body, laden with a soul, a battleground of urges and instincts, passions and yearnings, pains and burdens, a dark and enigmatic totality, weighing heavily. All that is now over. Man has become a number or a cypher. Ten million dead—that is something for consciousness to grasp and to assess. Ten million actual dead people, though, who would break over him like an avalanche! This cold-blooded creature, tough and dry as leather, initiates events which have the force of cosmic catastrophes without being shaken by anguish or pain dimming his view. He seems able to stand up to the power of Creation.

To these outstanding qualities—inability to seek for guilt in himself and an astonishing degree of harshness against himself and his fellow-men—a third must be added, which equally differentiates him from earlier man. He has an externally directed urge for activity, a steadily alert readiness for action, never shrinking from any task.

[1] The judgement that a condemned criminal is " dense " finds its counterpart in the historical development which has taken place in the devil's status in human imagination. Originally regarded as Satan and Anti-Christ and the Prince of Hell, he attained towards the end of the Middle Ages such an importance as to be thought superior to God. Belief in the devil grew stronger than belief in God. But the more the belief in the might of human consciousness increased with the passage of time, the more did the devil lose in importance ; he became the " silly ", the " deluded " and the " poor " devil, sinking in legends, sagas and folklore to a comic figure who gets thrashed and is mocked and laughed at by human beings until finally he quite loses his personality. Herein one may see the historic equation between the concepts " evil " and " dense ". Cf. Gustav Roskoff, *History of the Devil* (Leipzig, 1869).

Earlier man, who regarded external events as symbolic, and looked for the sign of God in them, appears to us to have been as passive as a lamb, accepting things just as they came. If we meet his prototype today, maybe in a time of drought, trailing across the fields in some religious procession, singing and praying, we are completely mystified. His passivity works almost excitingly upon us, for here, it seems to us, is human energy going to waste that could be employed in irrigating the dried-up acres.

But earlier man was not passive. His urge to action chose another direction, because his outlook on causality was completely different. He turned himself against himself and thrust onwards because he believed he could influence external events only by an inner change. In an historical crisis he did not try to reform the institutions and organisation of the outside world, but subjected his personal life to a searching transformation. It was not a question of improving the forms of the external world, but of men themselves having to become better.

Man today, on the other hand, is no longer a helpless object of events meant to guide or chastise him, and he cannot accept them patiently and devoutly, turning inwards to probe himself. He has, according to his belief, become a subject of the event, able through consciousness to gain an insight into its laws, and thus set himself above them.

Man has thus got himself into the role of a god who observes that some wheel of his creation has become worn, and sets himself to repair it. The conviction that he is capable and has been called to overcome all difficulties, and that they can be removed by himself and by none other, has become an unshakable part of the modern man's creed. While the outwards-directed urge to activity of earlier man was blocked by a crisis, since it turned inwards and sought to change human foundations, the urge for activity in modern man grows during a crisis into the dæmonic and obsessed, seeking to change external foundations.

This change of direction creates in times of crisis millions of energies massed together and thrusting outwards eager for action. And brand-new problems arise. Facing a catastrophic event in the past, men easily neglected their work and occupied themselves with the salvation of their souls. There was often insufficient labour for carrying out the tasks of the community. Fields were not tilled, houses fell into ruin, and the functionaries slept. With the end of the world imminent, who could be so crazy as to busy himself with duties no longer possessed of a purpose, collecting treasures which merely made it harder for the rich man to get into heaven, under-

taking tasks probably valueless on the morrow? Men laid down their work, left house and farm, and traipsed about the countryside, singing or scourging themselves, to get ready for the Day of Judgement. But today, when men's energies turn outwards seeking objects to which to devote themselves, so many skilled hands are thrust out that there is a lack of sufficient tasks with which to occupy them.

The statesman of the past who had to steer humanity through a crisis was anxious about finding enough people to go on working, although Judgement seemed at hand. The statesman who has to steer humanity through a crisis today is faced with the opposite anxiety—how to create sufficient tasks for the people demanding employment, and harness the human energies left over.

The statesman's anxiety to create jobs is complementary to people's anxiety to get jobs. It is not a material anxiety alone, but metaphysical. A man excluded of old from participation in religious exercises felt lost and robbed of his inner security. A man excluded today from active participation in the work of solving the crisis feels the same, for he is gripped by the idea that all which menaces him can be overcome only by increasing his own output.

This belief penetrates so deeply that domestic sorrows are parried by increased zeal in work. An unfortunate love affair or a bereavement is no longer accepted submissively, but met with dæmonically increased activity, a rage for work, which cannot change the hard facts, whatever it does to numb the pain.

How much stronger will the passion be when supported by the expectation of remedying the trouble! The man whose energies are not fully utilised will feel that the crisis has not really been properly grappled with, and if from inactivity his energy turns inwards, he will become morbid, insulted, charged with explosive resentment.

Earlier man, with his sense of guilt, expected to influence the crisis by internal change, whereas modern man hopes to improve his situation by the increased zeal with which he transforms the world outside. No longer does the subject face him in the form of God, beating him as object with the hammer of occurrence on the anvil of humanity. He himself now wields the hammer, and seeks to weld the disjointed outer world together again.

In time of crisis the externally directed urge towards activity on the part of modern man produces at top speed forms and institutions and organisations, ever and again destroying and recreating them unwearyingly. As in a kaleidoscope, the circumstantial world is transformed into new variations. Within the modern historical epoch this phenomenon keeps recurring. Macaulay has given a

vivid description of the process in his account of the English crisis of the seventeenth century:

> "In the course of a few years men had seen the ecclesiastical and civil polity of their country repeatedly changed. They had seen an Episcopal Church persecuting Puritans, a Puritan Church persecuting Episcopalians, and an Episcopal Church persecuting Puritans again. They had seen hereditary monarchy abolished and restored. They had seen the Long Parliament thrice supreme in the state and thrice dissolved amidst the curses and laughter of millions. They had seen a new dynasty rapidly rising to the height of power and glory, and then on a sudden hurled down from the chair of state without a struggle. They had seen a new representative system devised, tried, and abandoned. They had seen a new House of Lords created and scattered. They had seen great masses of property violently transferred from Cavaliers to Roundheads, and from Roundheads back to Cavaliers." [1]

De Maistre draws a similar picture of the French crisis in the eighteenth century. He calculates that the three National Assemblies from 1789 to 1795 passed 15,479 laws in the course of fifty-seven months, and drew a pessimistic conclusion.

> "This structure of laws is a gigantic work of staggering appearance. But astonishment changes to pity when one contemplates the nullity of these laws. All one sees is children building up with enormous effort a house of cards."

The number of laws and decrees and new forms and institutions being brought into being during the present crisis cannot be estimated nor ignored.

Yet during this chaotic reshaping of the world, man remains relatively unchanged. New forms and laws make their impact only upon his consciousness, which examines them in order to obey them or get round them. They do not, however, reach into the depths of his being or make contact with his conscience.

Quite the contrary!

Thus there are three essential qualities which specially characterise man today: an inability to look for blame in himself; an amazing degree of toughness towards himself and his fellows; and a gigantically increased urge for activity, ever on the look-out for new tasks and objectives. All three qualities arise from his attitude towards the universe as a whole.

[1] *History of England*, Chapter II.

In an historical crisis he is therefore in a far more dangerous situation than his predecessors. It bears down more gravely upon him and constitutes a direct threat to his assurance *vis-à-vis* the outside world; and he stands far more alone, lacking the sense of security given by the care and love of his fellow-man. In the past a crisis shut man up in his conscience; today it imprisons him in his consciousness.

In a tough world, amid men who meet him with impersonal interest, not love, constrained by an Event which he regards as stern reality thrusting straight at him, man today stands lonely, secluded, and lost, correlated only with his consciousness, like a diminutive point, a grain of dust amid the vortex of the atoms; but a thinking point, a conscious mote of dust.

His prospects of overcoming the crisis are anything but favourable, since the possibility of any inner transformation is so remote. Without doubt he will go to the uttermost limit of the bearable, and will change the outer world in every possible way, before calling himself to reckoning and tracing out the extent of his own guilt. Such a man must bring a major crisis to the highest peak, and render it historically unique.

4

Consciousness, the only means whereby man can come to terms with the crisis, is thereby subjected to a process of transformation. There is a dimming or darkening of the consciousness as the shell of his culture is destroyed.

The discomforting part of this process is that it goes on unnoticed. In order to observe himself, man would have to stand outside the certainty of consciousness, and it is from this possibility that he has so carefully excluded himself. A state of uncertainty would bring him before his conscience, and thus place him before God.

It has been said that, externally and internally, culture and consciousness are indissolubly bound up with and mutually condition each other. The broad masses have reached an inner certainty, not through ratiocination, but through the security of the artificial outer world of culture, after the advent of scientific technology.

The visible and tangible reality of modern culture which is its paramount advantage is, at the same time, its great weakness, however. It is like an idol, whose visible and tangible presence confers a far greater certainty than the invisible and intangible Opposite of God, but whose weakness is that it can be destroyed, and that it fails man just at the moment when he most needs it.

The peculiarity of modern man is not that he attributes a special value to human consciousness and perception. The men of earlier

ages did as much. Man's consciousness is, indeed, an advantage distinguishing him above other forms of life. The peculiarity of modern man is that he has based his whole existence solely on consciousness, and therefore relies on himself alone, seeking to be himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

In peaceful and indifferent epochs the man who has based his life upon consciousness perceives little of the demands to which he lays himself open. Science gives him certain ideas and theories in a simplified form which he takes over, appropriating to himself as much as he needs, chiefly for his professional requirements. Beyond that he has some vague ideas of the way things hang together, and some extremely limited and "bitty" knowledge, which he denominates "general education". While this mental outfit would not stand any real test, it will seldom be subjected to a trial. And the man is not really living from the clarity of his consciousness, the abundance of his knowledge, the precision of his thought, and the value of his perceptions, but from the conviction that these are a constituent part of him and truly his own.

But in times of convulsion, when the theories of science show themselves powerless, the demands of consciousness begin to press immediately and directly upon each individual. If the age is no longer supplying those perceptions which I need as assurance for my consciousness, then I must fabricate them myself. No matter at what cost, I must have a firm theory as to the Why and the Whence of events, or I go headlong into an abyss. The crisis thus leads to a total mental mobilisation.

What is attained in this mass-levy of Brain? It is not difficult in an epoch of collapse to discover faults and weaknesses in the world surrounding us. Each man can without difficulty offer a critique making demands upon other people and classes or nations which he feels simply must be fulfilled. This performance naturally claims objectivity as a production of human consciousness.

In his quiet study the individual thinks like an autocrat before whom the Event is spread out. He has a clear and effortless view of it, draws logical conclusions from his perception, and, like a modern Solon, writes them out for others as inferences and laws. Is he justified in doing this? But of course! Every man is possessed of consciousness!

In this manner the way to remove the crisis is found. All that remains is to appeal to the consciousness of other folk to acknowledge the truth and to act accordingly.

But very soon the man meets with Pilate's question, "What is truth?" If he is capable of turning it against himself, he may be

thrown into a chaos of doubt. He then suddenly perceives that in his whole attitude to the world there is no measure for Truth. The validity of a perception is shown in success. It must be converted into action before its value can be proved. As each man is equally possessed of consciousness, and is disposed to advance demands upon others, a Babel-like confusion of tongues and a conflict of opinions arise.

Hence the plentitude of projects, interpretations, and critiques so characteristic of the latest phase of Western development. They are not a sign that consciousness is mastering the Event through perception, but intellectual froth emerging from a threatened consciousness.

It is instructive to notice that most men are directing their thoughts not to the area they know in practice and can assess in theory, but to one with which they are less familiar. The parson handles economic problems, the civil servant thinks out new methods of nutrition, and the financial official racks his brains over the basis of religion. Each of them works in a realm that is alien and mysterious to him, and there discovers the causes of the Critical Event.

The scantiness of experience is important. If the parson came to grips with Religion, the civil servant with the State, and the commercial secretary with Commerce, they would be constrained by the problems arising from their daily function. Compelled to overhaul the foundations and methods of their own profession, and for once to raise themselves to the level of consciousness, they would encounter problems which in due course would bring them to grips with themselves.

The individual loses himself in areas of reality lying on the far side of his consciousness, hitherto unknown to him, partly because he attributes peculiar significance to the unknown, and partly because he intuitively perceives that he will not there keep meeting himself. Here originates many of those plans which overflow the West, from projects for a new religion to a planned revolution in diet and clothing.

It is but a step farther along this road to those twilight realms beyond the limits of scientific thought, astrology, and magic, and the secret methods and esoteric cults which come to us from the East, which are frequently employed to increase the powers of consciousness by means of appropriate exercises. Yoga and Buddhistic concentration are as beloved as the mystique and exercises of Ignatius of Loyola.

The course pursued as the degeneration of consciousness develops is always the same. The need is felt for a central idea to which

consciousness can be grappled, and in the general divine significance of which it can believe. That this idea has nothing to do with perception, but corresponds to the invocational formulæ of magic, matters little in view of the fact that it is man's conscious will which has launched the idea. To that extent the autocracy of consciousness, however circuitously, has been preserved. This idol, discovered by man's consciousness, and therefore subject to it, is a gracious god, who makes his adepts secure without imposing any hard demands upon them. And they become his representatives to others.

The adept therefore rests in the security of mysterious knowledge, which separates and distinguishes him, while his urge for action and his will to power are satisfied, since he is able to make demands upon other men. Thence arises what might be described as religious intellectuality, conditioned by the fact that man's consciousness today has to make the metaphysical basis of his existence secure. The question "Knowest thou why this or that has occurred, and how it should be handled?" today possesses the significance of the earlier question "Believest thou in God?" In both cases the answer must be "Yea" if the questionee is not to be shattered and cast into insecurity; but modern man has to bring a proof of his affirmation. He must be capable, that is to say, of expounding a surer theory of the causality of events.

Hence numerous people have contrived to escape from the hard problems of reality, from the poverty of their consciousnesses and their anguish in face of confusion, into a world of intellectual phantasies! Basically they are searching for God, but, unable to give up their belief in human consciousness, they must find a God who can embrace human consciousness without being superior to it. Man wants a private domestic idol to be of service to him. He searches therefore in regions not yet subdued by science, where the possibilities of personal interpretation are still open and he runs less danger of meeting a specialist whose superior knowledge might contest with him the role of favourite apostle. For some it is the Upanishads or a Chinese philosopher of the second order, say Yuang Tsi or Mong Tsi, since Lao-Tse and Kungfutse are too well known by now. For others it is some little-known Father of the Church, Macarius the Egyptian, or Didymus the Blind, since Augustinus or the great Alexandrines and Cappadocians, being better known, are more dangerous. Yet others turn to astrology and magic, believe in Yoga or in Mazdaznan, discover Paracelsus or Jakob Boehme, or swear by uncooked victuals!

Interesting in this connection is the revival astrology has lately had in the West. Belief in the stars becomes in times of great

historical crisis a safety exit from the increasingly senseless and hopeless chaos of events. It bends man's will to an immutably predestined necessity, but it also relieves him from responsibility, and, through an insight into the ordering of events, makes it possible for him to direct his steps with increased confidence.

As the great crisis burst over the Roman Empire, the Chaldean–Babylonish view of life sought to catch men's faith and bring them under the rigid compulsion of the planets. Later it was subdued by Christianity. Embodying the ideas of the Greek *Logos*, which ascribed reason, thought, free will, and consciousness to man, and conditioned by the Jewish God, who, as Creator of Heaven and earth, harnessed all to His Will, Christianity lifted men above the realm of Nature-Dæmons into a world of history, whose goal had been revealed and was sure. The Kingdom of Nature was subjected to the Kingdom of God, and the stars lost their power. Astrology was not entirely shut out. Even the Church in its way of reckoning time took over a good many of its assumptions. But astrology was pushed out to the edge of the Christian world, and had a very limited influence there.

In the crisis of the declining Middle Ages its importance increased. It had been brought into the West from the Arabs by way of Spain, and as mediæval man from the thirteenth century onwards was exposed to ever greater convulsions, and his belief in a Personal God as the First Cause began to totter, he sought refuge in astrology. As the Kingdom of Grace grew dubious, by so much the stronger became the Kingdom of Nature and the all-controlling might of the planets.

Resort to astrology was encouraged by fear of the Devil, which grew stronger as faith in the power of God became weaker. In the fifteenth and sixteenth, centuries belief in the Devil was stronger than belief in God. Men were terrified of Satan, and astrology brought them relief. If, they argued, the lawful course of the constellations was the determining centre of the world, originally set in motion by God, though now running in accordance with its own laws, then the Devil, too, was subject to this power. He lost the Jack-in-the-box swiftness, the sudden arbitrariness which made it possible for him to attack at any moment. He, too, was ruled by the mechanism of the universe. Until well into the seventeenth century astrology in some sense acted as a substitute for religion.

The man of decaying antiquity was lifted above astral divination by Christianity. The man of the collapsing Middle Ages freed himself from astrology by mathematics. There arose, from Nicholas of Cusas through Leonardo da Vinci up to Kepler and Galileo, the

conception of a great heavenly clock, wound up and set in motion by God Himself, but beginning to run down in conformity with orderly laws. In the logic of numbers he divested himself of mystical feeling, robbing astrology of its mysterious force, and setting the power of human consciousness against that of universal necessity. The stars moved in accordance with fixed eternal laws, but the planets had lost their dæmonic influence on the life of man, and through consciousness, which was able to recognise these laws, man gained a measure of freedom which lifted him into the position of the mediæval God.

Now, as in the crises of the ancient world and the Middle Ages, man is in danger of sinking into a chaos of senselessness. And once again, as then, he is offered the mysterious wisdom of the Chaldeans and the Babylonians as a refuge. The stars are regaining a dæmonic glitter. We are only at the beginning of this development, which is growing rapidly in the West, and will increase if events become more difficult to interpret. The power that rescues us from necessity and gives strength to the freedom which is an essential perquisite of man will be decisive for us. In all these endeavours of consciousness it is no longer a question of genuine perception, but of finding the means to fulfil man's inner needs. Subjective interpretations are devised to lighten the crisis of consciousness for the individual. Each man has to explain the crisis for himself at least, and to create an image of the correlation of cause and effect. He thus takes on the role of the Secret Sage or the misunderstood prophet. In fanatical passions by day, or the chaste openness of talks *à deux* by night, modern man becomes an unrecognised and insulted reformer, who has his own idea of the event.

5

The convulsion of consciousness, which occurs correlatively with the threat to and destruction of culture, leads to a subjectivisation of the concept of truth. As the props of man's consciousness in the circumstantial world of culture are knocked away, he falls into the crisis of consciousness, and all certainty vanishes.

The possibilities which should be open to man in the grave metaphysical threat to his existence, that of recognising the crisis and eliminating it, and that of basing his life on different foundations, are excluded. His consciousness gives up the struggle in face of the crisis, and the latter continues to increase. A change in the foundations of his existence, however, would compel him to set about rediscovering his conscience before God and surrendering his belief in his own perfection—and he is by no means ready to do this.

Consequently he erects against the crisis and convulsion of his circumstantial world a subjective perception, independent of the world around, and serving only to shut off his own consciousness and make his own existence secure. He knows where the causes of the crisis lie and how they can be removed.

This subjectivisation of the concept of truth is not brought into being for the first time by the crisis, but is in harmony with the principles of modern thought, and can appeal to them for support. After Descartes had asserted the self-certainty of consciousness, and set it in place of the self-certainty of religious experience, philosophy, passing via Berkeley, Kant, and Schopenhauer on to Gentile, has represented the reality of consciousness alone, and devaluated the natural visible and tangible world. It has thus been forced to build up the world from consciousness—that is to say, from the Ego. Hence that desperate penetrative thinking of the last three centuries, which was finally wrecked by subjectivism and ended in nihilism.

This fantastic attempt was made possibly only by propping itself on modern science, which in actual fact built up the world with the aid of the mathematical method from consciousness. The concrete technical products of science have concealed the subjectivisation of the concept of truth. And all went well so long as the external world remained quiet, directing itself in accordance with consciousness, as Hegel demanded. But the more unquiet and lively and unadaptable to consciousness the outer world became, the more passionately was advanced the priority of Consciousness over Being, of the Ideal over the Real, of the Abstract over the Concrete; and the more clearly did the subjectivity of truth reveal itself.

The subjectivisation of the concept of truth which is ending in every man possessing and advancing his own truth, thus follows logically from the philosophic speculation of the last three centuries. The crisis shatters man's security in the outside world, and at the same time takes from him the certainty of his inner world. If he is to maintain himself as that perfected being based upon consciousness in which he believes, he must provide himself with a subjective interpretation of the Event, one which disregards the outside world wherever it threatens the internal image. And the aphorism *Credo, quia absurdum* is replaced by *Scio, quia absurdum*.

Behind the travail of consciousness lurks a bitter wretchedness, which thrusts at man from the metaphysical realm. There is no longer any question of perceptions reached in liberty, but of postulates made under compulsion to secure one's own consciousness and existence. The subjectivisation of the concept of truth, then, is logically followed by the confessionalisation of thought. Perception

takes on a dogmatic character, knowledge merges into belief. We get an Either–Or pattern leading to a Friend–Foe relationship. The subjectivism of modern thought is a degenerative phenomenon which reveals itself more and more unmistakably in the nineteenth century. It is seen at its clearest in German Idealism, which has the character of a great confession, subjecting to itself the whole of reality. In Hegel the passion, toughness, and impatience characteristic of human exchanges today are already present.

There is also a dæmonisation of word and concept, which are losing their abstract scientific character and being filled with magical content. Man sinks beneath its power and is obsessed. With his consciousness heightened to the limit and strained to breaking point, he is dragged into a war of creeds, joins the witch-hunt, executes heretics, and uses the violent methods of the Inquisition, yet remains unaware of the fantastic nature of his own activity.

The dæmonisation of words and concepts finds expression in the numerous " isms " in whose birth the whole process of the darkening of consciousness is made visible.

Modern man, as a conscious or rational being, excluded and denied other elements, and these won themselves a life of their own. This is true not only of the unconscious elements of the individual, but also of the unconscious elements of the collective body.

> " The old religions," writes C. G. Jung,[1] " with their lofty and their laughable aspects, their kindly and their gruesome symbols, are not things born out of a clear sky but are the product of the collective unconscious. Such aboriginal forms live on in us and may at any moment burst upon us with annihilating force, against which the individual is powerless. Our frightful gods have only changed their names, and now they rhyme with ' ism '. Or are there people with the impertinence to maintain that Militarism or Bolshevism were brilliant inventions ? "

In the subjectivisation of the concept of truth, the confessionalisation of thought, and the dæmonisation of words and concepts, man's consciousness is filled with elemental psychic material and is darkened. He has not understood or mastered the crisis. The more he becomes aware of that, the stronger becomes his doubt about his consciousness containing truth. But he cannot give scope to this doubt, or he would fall headlong into despair. He therefore takes flight into subjective concepts, and claims an immutable verity, which changes personal relationships. Whereas he had at least been

[1] C. G. Jung : *Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious* (1938).

open to communication via consciousness, even this avenue is closed when consciousness becomes the sole ground of security, and any threat to it produces a crisis of existence itself. The man isolates himself from any assault upon his own subjective beliefs. No longer concerned in convincing or being convinced in debate, in order to clarify some grim problem, he believes fanatically (because he doubts) that he alone knows the truth and must impose this faith on others; admitting no argument, lest he endanger himself and his existence. Discussion is possible only when those engaged believe that their colloquy will bring them nearer an indivisible truth. When each partner has to pay anguished attention and fight desperately to see that his own opinion is not shattered, lest he himself falls into the state of metaphysical crisis, dialogue becomes impossible.

Dialogue is then replaced by monologue, each speaker striving to deprive his partner of an equal right to speak. Upon public platforms there are still people who speak and people who listen, the former maintaining their position by saying only what others are willing to hear. But between man and man discussion has almost entirely ceased. Men have lost the art of listening. Each man goes vote-collecting for the subjective truth he has thought out for himself and needs to confirm his existence. People speak as if on fire, avoiding any pauses, talking loudly, and brutally interrupting others to avoid hearing objections. It is the Flight from the Other Man's Word to One's Own, driven on by anguish lest contradiction should bring a shattering collapse. If one watches modern speakers, this immense anguish can be plainly seen in distorted features and convulsive gestures.

Between men who are of relatively good will, as among friends and relations, or in the conventional restraints of Society, *fair play* requires that each shall be given an opportunity to deliver his monologue. Deft hostesses resemble theatrical directors, mounting Society as on a stage, and being at great pains to allocate the roles equitably and to give each person the proper cue for beginning his or her monologue. People then part without obligation, not having given or received a thing, but with a pleasant awareness of having at least maintained their own position. Such contacts end like a drawn game; they are aimless but they immunise the passions.

Things are more difficult when two hostile monologists attempt to make a dialogue. There is no longer any question of a fair expression of debatable opinions, far less of any joint Socratic search for a truth not yet established. Their views *a priori* are not open to debate. The metaphysical foundations of each one's existence are opposed,

and no proper discussion takes place; but behind the web of words and the masking of opinions there is a metaphysical battle To Be or Not To Be. Passion and fanaticism are in play on both sides to remove the metaphysical threat. It is not a conversation, but a religious war in miniature, demanding the total annihilation of the opponent if one's own existence is to be preserved.

These encounters engender on both sides a hatred which looses itself dæmonically. One's opponent has raised doubt concerning the All-Holiest, and blasphemy against God has always been most severely punished.

Until the outbreak of acute crisis, man was accessible to communication from consciousness, though not from conscience, but events have so changed him that he has become wholly inaccessible and fanatical. In melancholy vein Ortega y Gasset lays it down that

> "The man whom we are analysing is unaccustomed ever to look outside of himself for any instance of authority. . . . The masses with which we have to do are stronger than they have been in any other time, but in contradistinction to the masses of tradition they are not to be drawn by anyone or anything out of their encapsulation, they are self-sufficient, or in one word, unteachable. If things go on as they have been doing, it will become clearer day by day in Europe—and reacting thence over the whole world—that the masses are in every sense untameable." [1]

The end of discussion is manifest in those countries where Parliamentarism, based on the conviction that truth emerges from a free conflict of opinions, has broken down. All the partners to a debate stood on a common level, each convinced that he represented only part of the truth, and prepared to surrender to objections and counter-arguments. The parliamentary form lasts only so long as this communal feeling survives within a framework of traditional authority, equally binding on each of the partners. So long as the parties remain subject to this central authority, recognising that they are only "parties" (that is to say parts of a whole) so long does discussion remain possible. But the moment the part believes itself to be the master of the whole truth, and party representatives talk at cross purposes, using the parliamentary tribune only to launch monologues at the public, Parliamentarism has come to an end.

Parliamentarism is only maintaining itself at a disadvantage. The

[1] Ortega y Gasset: *The Rebellion of the Masses.*

principles of parliamentarian States open the door to totalitarian influence, and they are driven towards non-parliamentary measures in an effort to resist.

Now that consciousness is showing signs of degeneration there is a tendency to side-track equality and to re-erect a hierarchy among mankind.

We are faced with a change in the hitherto prevailing attitude when a man declares:

> " Of course every person has consciousness, but one has more, another less. There is a natural inequality between human beings which has to be taken into account. The man whose consciousness is more acute has a deeper insight into events, and is better equipped to recognise their pattern of behaviour, and thus to achieve a greater freedom of action."

Admittedly there is no scale to evaluate the degree of consciousness. But the man eludes the point, suggesting that development has always settled this question so to say organically, men with better consciousnesses having contrived to " arrive " and thus to constitute themselves an *élite*, a set of intellectual leaders or an intelligentsia. George Sorel's thoughts on Force, Friedrich Nietzsche's Will to Power, and Vilfredo Pareto's ideas concerning the cycle of the *élite* have stood as godparents to the idea. They retained the prevailing view as to the arbitrary nature of events and the capacity of human consciousness to perceive them and dominate them, but introduced an aristocratic element, in conceding consciousness only to the small stratum which is convinced that it has really perceived what is happening.

Signs of the change can be found in the fact that " intelligence " is again beginning to embody an esoteric and aristocratic attitude. The term " masses " is taking on a scornful and derogatory ring. " The masses " are being contrasted with the *élite*, who are getting together into " circles ". A new hermeneutic eclecticism is growing up. What is really important is that the concept of " equality " is being rejected, resisted, and destroyed.

Without question there is an hierarchy on the human plane, and equality among men exists only in the eyes of God. If man loses his Godly Counterpart, it matters little whether he stands for equality or inequality, since in either case he will end in the worst of despotisms. The hierarchial elements which consciousness is beginning to rediscover serve to lay the foundation of Cæsarism.

Throughout the whole history of mankind, intelligence has not

been found at the peak of an earthly hierarchy; that is to say, possessed of power. It has always been persecuted; its stigma has always been its powerlessness. "All consciousness has its roots in suffering", writes Max Scheler, "and all higher grades of consciousness in ever greater suffering." The intellect has always been so much the greater the less power it had, and force the stronger the less intelligence it had: such is the law which dominates the polaric tension between Intellect and Force. It is in desperation that the spirit yields to the unassuageable hunger for power. No new elite can be founded upon this, quite apart from the fact that there is no measuring-rod by which its status can be recognised. Inner value is not determined by its bearer believing in it, feeling himself to be representative of the elite, or being counted part of a ruling clique. It is the "spirit of our times" which reaches agreement with Power. History usually displays great individuals at war with their own age.

The attempt to introduce an hierarchy is characteristic of a consciousness which is in danger and seeks a basis for isolation.

The path to dictatorship and despotism begins with aristocratic components being built into a world-philosophy founded upon consciousness. The possibility of real insight into events is no longer conceded to all men alike, but only to a small governing stratum, or priestly caste. This stratum busies itself discovering a correlation between cause and effect, and over the first establishment of laws. These so-called laws are no longer assimilated by free creative consciousness advancing from the safe ground of Faith, but by a consciousness which has already degenerated and to which recognition has become a necessity. When the laws have been recognised and the necessary measures laid down in a pseudo-divine plan, the World Order itself announces the fact, and no one has the right to take a stand against it. It would be as grave an undertaking as for earlier man to reject God.

The *élite* naturally desire to have their perceptions transformed into reality. If they find an opportunity for this by themselves attaining power, something inhuman and dæmonic will occur. For now a morbid fanatical human consciousness is ruling, which can escape from personal responsibility in the assumption that events take place according to laws of their own.

The man who possesses power today takes what measures seem to him to be necessary coldly and unmoved, because he regards them as an essential part of destiny. The responsibility linking him with events has been ruptured. An astronomer who, as the result of his observations, had reached the conviction that cosmic changes were

about to usher in a new glacial age would be quite cool and passionless in pressing the Government to take appropriate measures. A man encased in consciousness believes with similar impassibility and finality in the results of his observations.

The patriarch who sold his subjects as mercenaries and sent them to their deaths in order to better his own finances was still to be judged on a human basis. An appeal to his humanity at least offered a chance of some success. At worst he came under the rubric of human frivolity, malice, and depravity. But the despot of consciousness has become inaccessible to reproach. He feels himself to be but the instrument of higher laws into which his consciousness has gained insight. Any appeal to his humanity would be impassively rejected, since he believes in the absolute necessity of the measures he has enacted.

It is easy to form a wrong idea of the type. Judged by his acts, he appears a monstrosity of frightfulness and depravity. But that is to evaluate him by conscience, whereas it is no longer possible to reach him even from the level of consciousness. He belongs to a small esoteric group which no longer debates nor seeks the truth, but believes itself to be already in possession of it. He is the representative of a human cerebrum which has swollen up and grown independent, like a cancer. Possessed of power, he gives practical effect to the formula " God = Human Consciousness ". His fellow man who rejects his authority becomes an opponent, threatening the ego's own verity, and must be overcome. Any form of power may be employed, from amiability and persuasion or bribery up to direct action with coshes or revolvers. It is one of the peculiarities of power that it hungers for voluntary and spontaneous confirmation which it is unable to secure. A hopeless sense of loneliness arouses hatred of those who cannot or will not confirm the despot's subjective truth, and therefore refuse to provide him with the metaphysical basis of existence. In this hatred consciousness attains the extreme point of its reserve, and is driven to approve of the crisis for punishing and destroying its opponents. It retains its likeness to God, the Being who rules and punishes.

At this extremity modern man superficially resembles his forebears. Like them, he regards the crisis as a judgement and a punishment. But whereas they traced it to their own guilt and accepted it as their punishment, modern man looks upon it as the guilt and punishment of the Other Man. The crisis has occurred only because the Other Man is what he is, i.e. because he has not apprehended or not obeyed My Truth.

When one meets such conduct in a man who has ruled a nation

for twelve years and led it into catastrophe, it appears peculiar, yet to maintain the certainty of one's own consciousness by counting Other People guilty—foreigners, an alien social class, even one's own people or social class has become characteristic of mankind. As a final security, consciousness sails with the storm of the crisis, and approves the Event as judging and punishing the Other Man. Thus man can shield himself from the crisis and exclude any possibility of personal change. Such behaviour must intensify the crisis, driving it to the limit of annihilation.

6

The darkening of consciousness expresses itself in a variety of forms, beginning with scepticism and ending with nihilism.

Doubt, the motive element in modern thought, first displayed itself in the superior laughter of the French man-of-the-world, and finding expression in Montaigne, continued in Charron and Sanchez, to end up as a method in Descartes. Consciousness, walled off from conscience, and thus relieved of its relationship to God, demands absolute security and confirmation, and these it seeks by the creating of doubt. *De omnibus dubitandum est.* Such doubt destroys everything which gets into the focal heat of its lens and negatively affirms the power of consciousness. But it needs a standing ground if it is not to destroy itself. Scepticism finally impinges upon man as a thinking being. Certainty is therefore found in comprehension itself. It is based on the self-certainty of thought.

Hence begins that penetrative torturing process of modern thought which has to pass from Consciousness into Being, and from the ego has to build up the world, to collapse finally under the task. Doubt, driving thought over any available faith to destroy it, can chalk up the destruction as its own triumph, so that man's consciousness is confirmed and reinsured from the negative side. Beyond that man lives in the expectation that on the far side of destruction, experience by him as liberation, he will erect the system of his own certainty, without suspecting that it only draws its own sustenance from the decomposition of the substance of faith and will itself collapse when the last remnants of faith have been destroyed. Since Being-Conscious, so long as man is an imperfect unfinished being, can never be identical with Being, modern thought resembles the man who, with ever-increasing zeal, is sawing away the bough on which he sits.

Scepticism changes as the material of faith available for destruction declines. The confirmation arising from negation declines with it, at which point scepticism undergoes a swift transformation,

finding expression in many variations, all of them driving on to nihilism.

In its clean original form, scepticism is found today only in the broad masses. Having remained longest in possession of the material of faith, they continue to find matter of value not yet decomposed and still able to confirm the sceptical method. The broad masses have never based their existence upon consciousness, but have always remained close to the primitive, in the majority of cases being mastered by their instinctive urges: hunger and love, power and confirmation. In these conditions boredom seldom arises. There is little room for doubt, and none at all for despair. The broad masses have only mastered the sceptical method as a useful weapon in the fight for elementary needs. Moreover, it serves to justify the brutal inconsiderateness which the crisis forces upon those striving to maintain themselves. None the less, it renders them less accessible to communication, and creates problems of oppressive gravity. During the centuries from Montaigne and Descartes a great social reversal has taken place. The sceptical method, which at the beginning was employed only at the peak of the intellectual hierarchy, has now become the heritage of all; while at the peak of the intellectual hierarchy men are groping in despair for a new faith against the threatening background of nihilism. The immediate effects of scepticism may be very different in people who occupy different social worlds.

Thus, discussing the problem of double morality, which arose from the idea of the Reason of State and activated the ruling caste in earlier days, Karl Mannheim says:

> "Whereas in earlier days there existed a social-moralistic division of toil, through which the little man was able to retain his decorous morality, and it was only the ruling cliques who felt the conflict, through democratisation this problem is constantly growing more acute. What the further fate of public morality is to be when the broad masses have appropriated the secret of the tiny leadership cliques is more than we can foresee. Democracy acting like a lift, keeps bringing cynicism and sarcasm in ever greater quantities from above to those below. Whilst, however, originally cynicism and sarcasm are more sublimated forms of an embarrassment, evasive forms of a soul grown complex and seeking to answer the unanswerable, as mass movements, they become pure brutality, which one has no longer any reason to conceal; they inspire the day-to-day morality of the Little Man, who uses Power-Diplomacy

as it was once used in the secret acts of leading statesmen." [1]

Every crisis tends, by the sheer weight of the external events, to reduce men to their primitive vital foundations, and it gives over command to those who can travel intellectually light. It is the freebooters who find their way to the dominant positions.

> "Every crisis", writes Jacob Burckhardt, "is accompanied by a definite quota of adroit reserved and ice-cold men swimming along with it; they want to advance themselves and will be ready to do so by any means. This kind of Holdfast, Pinchquick and Stealaway will swim to the top at any price, and all the more securely in that no higher urges lead them astray. Here and there one of them gets caught and perishes. But the genus as such remains eternal, whereas the primary and leading men of their time can be counted on the fingers and are extinguished by the ever-increasing crisis. What is eternal upon earth is the average." [2]

Macaulay accounts among them nearly all the politicians of the English crisis.

> "Among the statesmen", he writes, "who were at the head of the big parties in the State from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hanover, one can only name very few whose reputation has not been smirched by what in our age would be called gross faithlessness and corruption. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the most unprincipled men in public life who have taken part in State business during the times we remember, would deserve to count as conscientious and public spirited men if taped by the measure in use during the last part of the 17th century." [3]

Already in the French crisis of the eighteenth century the number of those knowing how to sail with the gale of the crisis is greatly increased. The levelling of the hierarchy and the dissolution of all values have led to the quota of adroit reserved and ice-cold men in today's historical crisis being many times greater. Now that the sceptical method is generally familiar, the type has ceased to be an exception, and waxes with the growth of the crisis. But while making use of the sceptical method, it does not do so for philosophical ends. It certainly displays the untrustingly-questing

[1] Karl Mannheim: *Man and Society in the Transition Age.*
[2] Jacob Burckhardt: *Considerations on World History.*
[3] T. B. Macaulay: *History of England.*

knowing-doubting eyes, but they look out of a face which has been drawn by the primitive vital needs for hunger and love, for power and for acceptance, and scorns every intellectual relationship as a farce.

It is the paradox of the sceptical method that it can be overcome only by itself, after attaining the point where doubt begins to doubt about itself and passes into a state of despair. But there is no going back. Man never escapes from the mill of doubt as he enters it; the cog-wheels only release a person transformed, one upon whose new material they lose their grip. The extreme point of despair is nihilism, but it does not constitute anything durable. The individual passes through it, to experience either his transformation or his end.

> "Absolute nihilism appears psychologically impossible," writes Karl Jaspers. "It is psychologically inevitable as a stage, if life desires to attain self-consciousness. Everything that is dead and final has first to be set in question, has to be drawn into the witch's kettle of nihilism, if a new vital form is to emerge. Nihilism is not to be avoided by trying to dodge it but has to be experienced—as is only possible in states of internal despair—if it is to be overcome, and to become the bare element it is in all intellectual types. It is in the world of mental life the destroyer of the non-vital such as has the appearance of life. Every form of life at some time or other assumes the role of nihilism, but life itself does not do so." [1]

It is as an individual that man passes this point. He stands then for himself alone, not for the body collective; and he reaches the body collective again only when he has built himself new material which comes under the law of distributive virtue. That is to say, he has to build up the community and spend himself in doing so; for the collective body, often wrongly assumed to be the individual's mother-soil, is a Moloch living upon his substance. For that reason the process of development which began with individual scepticism does not extend until the collective body is skimming the residue of values without substance; but extends to the point where the individual in despair reaches the doorway of nihilism and the threshold of another plane of being. Beginning with the individual's scepticism at the peak of the hierarchy, the modern historical epoch ends with the individual's transformation in face of the Either–Or of nihilism.

To establish how near scepticism has now got to nihilism, therefore,

[1] Karl Jaspers: *Psychology of Viewpoints on this World.*

and what point in the developmental process we have reached, it is necessary to hunt at the peak of the shadowy hierarchy among the few in whom and through whom things in the mental world are settled.

The peak is no longer represented by science as a whole. Even science has become a civil servant of the collective body. Its members belong to the strong body of " intellectual officials " who have to satsify the needs of primitivism and vitalism among the masses. Of the hierarchy can be reckoned only that small body of men who dare now, as of old, to expose themselves to the pressure of the Unknown and to follow a developmental process to its end. And this layer has become very thin all over the world, and is seldom in the limelight.

But at the apex of this well-hidden hierarchy today the representative attitude is one of relativism. Under the concept of relativity, perception is regarded as valid only under certain definite conditions, thus losing all claim to being absolute. It depends upon the relationship of the perceiving subject to the object perceived, in which psychological factors play an important part. In the perception of relations consciousness can at times reach comparative certainty, but it finds itself among innumerable possibilities and lacking the one reality it needs for absolute certainty.

Human consciousness thus comes into conflict with innumerable new worlds. It may be referred to that multi-dimensional world of spherical trigonometry which was a prerequisite for Einstein's Theory of Relativity ; or the Inside-versus-Outside world of biology, which leads to just as many different life-worlds ; or the relativism of micro-physics, exemplified today in atomic-physics, which satisfies itself with imprecision and probabilities, and brings the law of causality into question ; or in the philosophical, the historical, the artistic, or as many other relativisms as you like.

> " Our crisis today is the crisis of Promethean science as a religion of reason," writes K. von Neergaard. " Everything has become relative. Infinite numbers of people have no longer any absolute system of values, whether in this world or a world-beyond. That must mean the end of culture, the ' Decline of the West ', unless we find a new system of values, or are given one." [1]

It is in relativism that scepticism comes nearest to nihilism. Relativism is a model of nihilism which persists because it is com-

[1] K. von Neergaard : *A Decline in Relativity ?*

posed of a series of instants and acts whereof each one constitutes a "something", and therefore does not fall into nothingness; but which conjointly, taken in relation to each other and measured by each other, all dissolve again and become possibles, not realities. Relativism "knows not the door which leads from the prison of scepticism, but only knows the possibility of a man in prison being able to sustain existence if it comes to the worst".[1]

Relativism is characteristic of a scepticism which disintegrates the last remnants of matter, and has no reality left on which to test and confirm itself; a scepticism which has reached the void, while the thinking and calculating faculties yet persist, and only now, when they are no longer hemmed in existentially, are reaching the zenith of their fulfilment. Speech and logic, number and mathematics are attaining the peak of their perfection, but they offer only innumerable possibilities, innumerable styles, innumerable attitudes, innumerable worlds, and innumerable truths; all of which remain only possibilities unless borne aloft by a living verity, and thus becoming reality.

The significance of this attitude becomes clear when we recall that modern history began with man basing his whole existence upon consciousness and the self-certainty of thought, thus setting himself up as autonomous, and turning from his Godly Opposite. Consciousness no longer took direction from conscience, and the latter from God, but identified itself with Being. In relativism Descartes' *Cogito ergo* does not get displaced, but completed, and in this Thinking-To-Completion man's faculty for thought shows in the glitter of its finest perfection. On the other hand, it reveals itself as the great error of modern days, since, instead of being able to get from Being-Conscious to Being, man finds that consciousness can offer him only possibilities, but no realities.

If relativism appears in its purest form in modern physics and has taken its name from them, it is because man is able to walk there most securely. He is held up by a framework of figures and formulæ, like a spider by its web, and can turn about among all kinds of possibilities. But words do not possess the precision of figures. No network can be woven from them on which man can turn about, unless he is supported by other vital and primitive forces.

What distinguishes relativism and raises it sky-high above most of its critics, is the honesty and logicality with which it treads the road of scepticism to the end. It is bound to be passionately opposed by all the other "isms", because it cancels their claims to absolute validity. One day seed will be sown in the soil it is preparing.

[1] Eduard May: *In the Abyss of Relativism.*

In relativism, human consciousness breaks down one after another of the existential supports which man had erected upon it, thereby itself becoming relative; it becomes, that is to say, a function, an instrument, a possibility. The greatest effort is needed to maintain this attitude right through to the end of the Either–Or choice; but it is the only one to escape the darkening of consciousness.

If nihilism begins on the far side of relativism, freak-varieties of scepticism appear on the near side, all recognising that the certainty of consciousness has been exploded, yet manifesting a will to establish consciousness, as the only solid ground for existence, at any cost.

The mental attitude which seeks further confirmation from the negation to which scepticism has led is very near to nihilism. Consciousness, insulted, deceived, and doubting itself, longs to show its power negatively, since it can no longer do so positively and creatively. By destroying other attempts to find a sure foundation it confirms its own power. The desire finds an outlet in cynicism, the particular attribute of an upper intellectual strata which lacks the primitive vital forces of the masses and is peculiarly indebted to consciousness.

It is not going too far to say that the attitude of the upper strata during the crisis is in the main one of cynicism, employing the term in its contemporary, and not its classical sense. In cynicism man elevates himself above his culture without abstaining from drawing validity and enjoyment from it. He affirms his consciousness by disintegrating everything around him, and refuses to be fearful of anything, even of the crisis itself. The intellectual wisecrack and witty paradox are chief among his weapons. Cynicism increases with the crisis, its aim being to make conscious existence secure. In this it is clearly differentiated from hedonism, which has as its aim the happy life of the individual, an æsthetic self-delectation, a pleasure and enduring satisfaction in egoism.

The individual who amid the collapse of culture desires to make his conscious life secure, falls back on stoicism, with its ethical system based on the urge for self-preservation. The stoic certainly maintains consciousness as the sole foundation of his existence, but he begins with the transformation of his being, striving to emancipate it from everything which might constitute a threat. Such a man desires to keep free of all desire and of fear, and regards other goods, like honour, possessions, health, and even life itself, as matters of perfect indifference. His highest value is an inviolable calm, his ideal the sage who has attained complete independence.

Stoicism represents the regression of consciousness upon itself.

Its concepts of duty and virtue lead to man being reshaped within, and its ethical system expresses man's desire to remain "true to himself". It therefore provides an anteroom to a religious renovation to which it will one day ascend; when, that is to say, it gives up the urge to maintain itself and to assert its consciousness.

The apathy for which the stoic strives is void and without content, for it is only serving to secure his own Ego. Even the concept of duty and virtue cannot hide the fact that the man with his consciousness is growing stiff above a void. He often claims to be seeing things and taking people as they are, but he sees only the external side of phenomena, despite the tendency to inwardliness, and he isolates himself by his refusal to interfere.

Relativism, cynicism, hedonism, and stoicism are normally emergent attitudes in a declining culture, their prototypes appearing in Greece and Rome. But because Western man has been impelled by greater expectations and achieved a greater measure of consciousness, two other phenomena, heroism and fanaticism, have appeared.

Heroism—the attitude of man as a fighter—is in its pure form a rarity. It most frequently occurs as tragic heroism when it is closely akin to fatalism. Innumerable individual experiences in the last decades have contributed to and melted into it. Men sitting numb and helpless listening to the scream of shells; men marching off to the front where a column is pushing forward, irresistible and inexorable; the loss of money, of employment, of home; the howling of sirens and the waiting rigid in a cellar—these and countless other experiences convince man that pitiless forces, inaccessible to consciousness, rule his life. Dark hangs the event impending over man. How is he to meet his hard, immutable destiny? Lamenting and despairing, or "taking arms against his sea of troubles"? With big words and exalted thoughts Idealism prepares to do battle. "Let not my little final hour be a time of impotence!" prayed Walter Flex, who fell in front of Oslo. In a world grown dark and senseless, weighed down by Fate, man, no longer believing or thinking, sustains himself in despair, yet fighting for an honourable defeat.

The attitude of tragic heroism increases where consciousness is more powerfully engaged, and where it has to hold the final if not really defensible lines by all possible means, including fanaticism. The fanatic perceives the untenable nature of his position; he knows that what he contends for can be easily rebutted; yet it is the only thing to which he cleaves and which makes his existence possible. Therefore, to maintain himself he must extirpate his opponent.

He is imprisoned within himself, and his consciousness is on the border-line of intoxication.

Fanaticism arises from the craving for security of a weakened consciousness, already swamped by the elementary might of the unconscious and by emotional forces. While the intelligent upper strata incline towards cynicism and stoicism, while youth follows its natural urge towards heroism, fanaticism is characteristic of the semi-educated middle and lower strata. Having a technically rationalised world around them, and being provided with a normalised, standardised consciousness, they attain a high degree of certainty because everything is presented to them in a simplified form, while at the same time, and having never been disquieted by deeper intellectual problems, they are ill-prepared for any shattering experiences. Being near to the primitive and (though often sentimental) the emotional realms, including the religious, these strata fight for a consciousness whose possession seems to them the guarantee of their place in the upper stratum; for which reason its half-truths are passionately defended.

Fanaticism has psuedo-religious features and easily slides over into a faith, the dogmatic content of which is set by consciousness. The last stage of the darkening of consciousness ensues. Overpowered by anguish, it falls into intoxication, to sink down to the pre-conscious and subconscious plane of the magical.

Since the rationalised middle and lower strata preponderate in the artificial technical world of modern civilisation, fanaticism has become common and is continuing to win ground. It draws its strength from the crisis, and retroactively increases the crisis, so that a vicious circle is set up. Thus events are set in motion which must subject cynicism and stoicism and tragic heroism to most grievous and exhaustive trials.

All these attitudes are affected by historical reflection. Just as the stoicism of the Romans had already been broken by the image of Greek stoicism, so stoicism of today is conditioned by knowledge of its antecedents. It follows that stoicism today is different from that of earlier ages, a consideration that applies to most phenomena of modern life. Eugen Rosenstock points this out in respect of revolution:

> "The Russian Revolution was already in a quite different situation from all those which preceded it. Its executives knew of the French Revolution and had studied it exhaustively. . . . But that threatened the authenticity and uniqueness of their own movement. To maintain its originality, therefore,

the Russian Revolution had one way out, which is indeed the way it took: it had to announce itself as the last of the revolutions. Its validity had to depend on its finality. The Russian Revolution accordingly aimed to be a long-term revolution. Permanent revolution is the only means for Bolshevism to maintain its claim to constitute something more than just another revolution." [1]

Ortega y Gasset points to the same factor:

> "European man", he writes, "has been 'democratic', 'liberal', 'absolutist', 'feudal', but is so no longer. . . . He goes on being all these, but he is also one who 'has been' them. If he had not all these experiences behind him and they did not continue in 'has-been' form, it would be possible for him, when faced with the difficulties of present political life, to attempt to adopt one of these attitudes. But 'having once been something' is a force which automatically prevents one's being it. . . . In the contemporary political crisis society in the West is noticing that it cannot just be straight 'liberal', 'democratic', 'monarchical', 'feudal', nor just 'Pharaonic', for the very reason that—either of itself or through the experience of others—it has already been them." [2]

How does historical reflection, which nowadays supervenes on all men's mental attitudes, work out? Does it weaken such attitudes or make them harder and inexorable? Does it make them relative, or does it lift them up through consciousness itself to real absolutism? These two are by no means mutually exclusive. Historical reflection weakens these attitudes because it takes away from their freshness and originality, their feeling of novelty and uniqueness. Man sees in advance his mental attitude is relative. None the less, he has to adopt it because he is aboriginally borne in that direction. For there is not an infinity, but only a limited repertoire of human attitudes, and in the course of history the repertoire is repeated.

This inner weakness, however, conditioned as it is by historical reflection, leads to conscious external exaggeration, to make up for the lack of originality. Faced with the relativism of his attitude, man rises to a conscious absolutism which mixes together all the ingredients of the past, and seeks by superheating them to make them unique. He meets three special factors in the process. First, the new world-unity of the twentieth century, which turns any personal

[1] Eugen Rosenstock: *European Revolution.*
[2] Ortega y Gasset: *History as a System.*

attitude into a world-trend. Next, the factor of permanence, wherein the eschatological dynamism of history gets linked with this new world unity. And finally, and closely connected with it, the factor of finality, the lurking expectation of the last days and the end of history. All three of these factors were made use of by the Russian Revolution, which based itself as (i) a world-revolution, (ii) a permanent revolution, and (iii) the last and final revolution—sociologically secured as such by the working man's last stand.

Historical reflection therefore leads to over-zealous absoluteness. Man seeks to make up for the absence of honesty and original truth by external extremes. For that reason all his mental attitudes today are penetrated with anguish, and because of the anguish all his attitudes become more or less fanatical. We therefore have—a peculiarly absurd phenomenon—a fanatical relativism. We have the fanatical wit and word-juggling of cynicism, the fanatical imperturbability, apathy, and indifference of stoicism; we have an Hagen of Tronje who knows that he is riding down his decline; and we have—this, too, is paradoxical enough—a fanatical fanaticism, which inflames itself with the knowledge of how fanatical it is.

Historical reflection makes weak inwardly, but at the same time it externally strengthens every mental attitude. And by so doing it enforces just what it lacks itself, uniqueness, peculiarity, novelty, Never-Yet-ness. It thus confers upon the crisis of Western culture, and through it on the world-crisis—for the Western crisis is establishing itself as a final world-crisis—an apocalyptic uniqueness.

As all these attitudes move along a scale which begins with scepticism and ends with nihilism, with the individual passing from doubt into despair; and as the crisis shows a tendency to sweep everything away, leaving no faith in the kingdom that is of this world, we can only await through crisis the revelation of an event in the spiritual world for which man can prepare, but which he can no longer speculatively apprehend. The Christian is possessed of his Paternoster: "Thy Kingdom Come!"

7

The question as to the original guilt from which the crisis arose has so far only been touched on superficially. It points to a failure in human perceptions long before our present crisis; but a special chapter has been devoted to the subject.

So far the functional value of the organ with which man sought to become Master of the Crisis has been investigated. It has been shown that consciousness, upon which man has based his whole existence, has been made secure only by the mechanistic world-view

of the natural sciences, which has been transposed on to all the manifestations of culture. In accordance with this, all events are alien to man and subject to the law of causality. Man can only adapt his conduct to the laws of events when consciousness can perceive them. Culture is also subject to this reign of law. Over culture, however, man possesses greater power. Since he fashioned it himself, he can modify it.

From the standpoint of consciousness search into the causes of the crisis can be made in four directions: in the relationship of culture to Nature and the Universe; in the apparatus of culture itself; in the relationship of culture to man; and in the relationship of man to culture. Correspondingly there are four possible ways of intervening and liquidating the crisis: by modifying culture in its relationship to Nature and the Universe, to itself, or to mankind, that is by proceeding to an external reconstruction; or by changing man's conduct in respect of culture. All four possibilities have been tried and are still being tested, mostly together and in juxtaposition. Choice of method at a given moment is determined by the interests man is trying to preserve.

The effort to modify culture in its relationship to Nature and the Universe has a long history, for it is precisely in this that the developmental process of modern times has found its strongest impulse and its greatest success. Since natural science has demonstrated the truth of the mathematical–experimental method in the attainments of technique—that is to say, from the second half of the eighteenth century—she has repeatedly succeeded in enlarging the relationship of culture to Nature and the Universe, and thus lugging mankind over the danger-points of crisis as they reveal themselves. Beginning with the Textile Era of the eighteenth century, the last two centuries have moved through the Steel and Machine Era, the Traffic, Coal, Chemical, and Electrical Eras, on to motor-cars, aeroplanes, radio, and artificial surrogates, all the time by virtue of new discoveries which, in their time, have decisively modified the cultural set-up.

Today atomic fission has opened elemental forces to man which seem completely to overshadow all forms of energies hitherto available, and to inaugurate a novel age. After the initial experiences with atom-bombs, however, a new invention has, for the first time in two hundred years, not evoked fresh optimism, but laid an almost mountainous weight on humanity and increased men's anguish. For the first time also, the voices of scientists prophesying a splendid future have been few, and the voices of warning have greatly predominated.

It seems inevitable that atom-fission will go on modifying human culture, and that the twentieth century will see the Atomic Era, but man is no longer promising himself an improvement of his situation. He looks on the new development, which he regards as compulsory and inevitable, with fear and anguish, and for the moment no new impulse is being followed to free mankind from the hopeless discomfort of its situation.

With the exception of a very few physicists, industrialists, and technocrats, men are asking themselves how the crisis can be remedied by atomic energy? The new gloom over science means that the first of the four possibilities can be left out of our considerations.

The second possibility is the modifying of culture in relation to itself. Modern technical culture has been erected on the model of the world-mechanism of science. If the apparatus is giving a faulty performance, the causes may lie in the apparatus itself, which needs inspection, and, like an engine, to be brought into tip-top condition again.

This was the first reaction to the crisis; a mighty overhaul (significantly enough termed "rationalisation") of the technical apparatus to remove the worn parts and put new in their place, and to renovate the whole machinery basically.

This possibility is still being followed, supplemented by another method for which the apparatus is secondary. The central nerve, as it were, of the apparatus is capital; and alongside technical and industrial rationalisation an overhaul of capital is proceeding; old values still recorded in the ledgers, but long ago become fictitious, are being written down, and new credits and loans are being granted to create new values and bring the machinery to a higher pitch of perfection.

Man has been overhauling the apparatus, technically and financially, for four decades, however, without having yet remedied the crisis. On the contrary, the crisis has grown worse, and it is easy to understand why this attempt now meets with scepticism, thus being deprived of the psychological impulse which was an important element in the help it was supposed to bring.

The third possibility would involve human adaptation to culture in an unprecedented fashion. It is closely linked with the first two, for any modification of culture will demand human adaptation to the new conditions. Rationalisation accepts this as so completely natural that in the technical case it simply puts a man on the street without employment, and in the financial case writes off his values, and thus appropriates them. In rationalisation man is forcibly caught

and brought into line. Since in pure rationalism consciousness is still dominated by the concepts of mechanism, it has no organ for sensing the human consequences which unemployment, devaluation, bankruptcy, and " Black Fridays " are bound to involve, and burns up wheat and coffee without compunction because according to the laws of rationalism it is sensible to do so.

However, affairs do not always go so simply, even with the aid of the State—for whenever imperilled, rationalism is forced towards totalitarianism. The primitive vital and emotional components of man are uprooted and become more refractory and unaccountable. Even the gigantic propaganda apparatus which in our technical civilisation, from morn to eve, enwraps man like a hideous polyp with a thousand arms, and holds him prisoner, is constantly failing of its effect. Nothing looks more senseless and paradoxical than a neon-lit advertisement on the wall of a blitzed house! Consequently it is getting ever harder to move men to adapt their relationship to culture, and when anguish itself fails, rationalism is quite helpless, and surrenders before the crisis. It has at its disposal only the traditional means of information, propaganda, and education; which fail just when man is most deeply affected by some event. So far rationalism has not succeeded in removing the crisis from the apparatus or from man himself.

The fourth possibility looks in the opposite direction. It does not see the cause of the crisis in man's maladaptation to the apparatus, but in the apparatus not corresponding to the nature of man, and therefore needing to be adapted to *it*. Culture ceases to be the pivot of thought, and human rights become central.

This interpretation develops only slowly during the crisis, as the gravity of events brings men to the alert and mobilises them. While at the beginning of the crisis the prevailing view is that culture is central and man only the object of it, the course of events seems to make it clear that man is the subject of what happens. Not in the sense of himself being at all guilty for what occurs, but only in the sense that, without having merited or caused it, he has become passively involved.

In his wretchedness and suffering man is slow in realising that culture ought to exist for him, and for none other, and that he has the right and power to change it if it no longer corresponds to his nature and expectations. Man should say how he wants to live, and culture should adapt itself to suit his wishes, no matter what values are destroyed or rights and privileges violated in the process.

This interpretation can take the gales of crisis into its own sails, for as a crisis deepens, culture naturally appeals less and less to each

man's wishes. Winning majority approval has become the dominant thesis of our age, and in the future will gain even more support.

For all its apparent wisdom, it is really quite absurd, for it asks only what man wants, not what he ought to want. Like the other interpretations, it clings to the thesis that man is a cunning being who can base his existence upon consciousness alone. Yet it is consciousness which is undergoing crisis, and has already suffered a process of change and darkening, by which its expectations have been influenced.

These four possibilities have all been tested during the last thirty-four years and are still being tested, and have had only an irritant and negative effect upon the crisis.

In the whirl of events, man's thought is thrust slowly back to the problem of himself, at which limit it retires into shattered amazement. When rationalism meets the human enigma it bursts like a soap-bubble. And the human solution of the crisis which seeks to adapt culture to man reaches the same limit and reveals its emptiness. It asks man, as a rational being, what he wants to do and what rights he claims, and of course learns within the crisis that man's will is quite unreasonable and his demands immeasurable. At which point it meets the question from which it should have set out: What ought man to want, and which of his demands are justifiable? In other words, What is man?

The more directly man meets this question, the more he is displaced from the centre of events and escapes from his subjectivity, not possessing a measure wherewith he can measure himself. But he only confronts the question when driven to a point where doubt turns back on himself: and it may be a long time before he reaches it.

Of their very nature, three out of these four possibilities specified belong together and are closely related, as follows: If I enlarge culture by bringing the new atomic energy to it, if I overhaul its apparatus and pump more loans into it, and compel men by force or induce them by persuasion so to behave and adapt themselves that the apparatus functions, then obviously the crisis will have been overcome, and the vast mechanism of world culture will once again begin to tick without friction. In this thesis the first three possibilities are bound up together. Over against them stands the fourth possibility. The crisis will be overcome only when culture adapts itself to man and is made subject to the rights and demands of man's nature.

These theses are opposed to each other all over the world, and today are in embittered conflict. It would be easy to simplify the opposition concretely by pointing out that the centre of the first thesis lies in New York, and the second in Moscow; that the first is

covered by the concept of capitalism, and the second by that of socialism. An interpretation on those lines would itself remain within the purview of the old view of the world, adding nothing to it. To recognise that the opposition in the macrocosm of politics is found in the microcosm of the individual takes one a little farther. For, despite the gigantic destruction, every human being possesses external values, though it be only in imagination, which he desires to maintain. Every person is, however, increasingly conditioned by the dark elemental forces of his being, which, limited by culture, seeks to liberate itself. And the fourth possibility promises him this liberty.

The two theses stand diametrically opposed, but they are encompassed by the dogma of the sufficiency of consciousness, and therefore constitute polarities and not incompatibles; just as they are polarically related in the microcosm of each individual. Polarities are subject to the law of reciprocal influence and assimilation, which peacefully or otherwise works towards a synthesis. If differences lead to violence, ending in conquerors and conquered, they are ironed out because the conqueror is always infected by the conquered; a rule of life whose deep significance has been grasped only by religious perception as expressed in the saying " Resist not evil! "

The peoples whose tradition belongs to the old Renaissance and who want to keep what they have attained are looking to the first three possibilities. The peoples of the new Renaissance, who do not want to be cheated of their expectations, are looking to the fourth possibility. When the polarity has led to a levelling-out, the new Renaissance peoples will, on the basis of the second thesis, free themselves from the compulsion of culture and fight to win their freedom; and, possessing themselves of the culture, of which they merely constituted the object, will proceed to test out the first three possibilities with new vitality and primitive force. As the levelling-out will be global, it will be a matter of comparative indifference whether its centre is New York or Moscow.

To a mind fixed in the old categories of consciousness this interpretation will appear paradoxical and incomprehensible, because it regards the motive of polarity in the macrocosm of politics not as an alternating relationship, but as an irreconcilable opposition; and because in war it does not see the active form of levelling-out, but a removal of the opposition through the segregation of the hostile partner. Nor will it grasp the true opposition of the present epoch, which is without polarity, two different planes of being having no common framework. These are the world dominated by man and the world dominated by God. The former belongs to the material

world This Side; the latter to That Beyond. In the former the question will be of little interest for me, since the only important question is the opposition between me and God.

All four possibilities belong among the ancient categories of consciousness, but as the crisis is breaking out of an area which lies on the far side of such categories, neither perception nor remedy can be expected from them. Indeed, man is not really willing to perceive the meaning of the crisis or to remove it, despite his paradoxical yearning and gigantic expenditure of energy. His one desire is to make his consciousness secure, which is to say, to maintain his autonomy as a Man-God at whatever price, even at the price of his own destruction. Whether it is in wresting new secrets and energies from Nature, overhauling the apparatus of culture, re-adapting men and establishing equalitarianism, or subjecting culture to man's will, it is still a matter of man's consciousness resisting the crisis, of his maintaining consciousness and allowing nothing to impugn his self-certainty. When the source of trouble is sought in man himself, it is sought in man's consciousness, not in his essence, and efforts to remove the crisis never get beyond external changes. After nearly forty years, man is running round in the crisis like a circus-horse in the manege; sacrificing all he possesses, and last of all himself.

The question about man is the only question the sceptical method fails to answer, because it disintegrates in it. The doubt against oneself returns, and leads to desperation, and the method breaks down. Man is therefore faced with a demand to leave the basis of consciousness and look for another level of existence; and only as he succeeds in reaching it does a new perception of the cause and cure of the crisis become open to him.

Man is guilty of what happens. The crisis is not alien to him, but man himself is the crisis. Changes of culture are therefore a matter of indifference; our concern is with the inner transformation of man.

This sentence sounds so harmless and unimportant. Everyone can acknowledge its truth, and it creates a good impression in the speeches of statesmen, and the programmes of the "Isms", to say nothing of books concerning Man in This World! Yet it is just this sentence, properly understood, which leads to an actual darkening of consciousness; it leads, that is to say, to the place where man is beginning to leave consciousness as his basis. This is an inexorable road, but it is frightening.

Man is responsible for what happens; but everything turns upon whether we say "The Other Man is guilty!" or "I myself am guilty!" In the first case the Other Man has to be paid out. In

the second case I am myself standing before the victims and wreckage of the last thirty-four years as the guilty person who must be punished. In the first stance I judge men and am judged by men. In the second I alone am present, split into two persons, one who judges and one who is judged. And the more I, as the judged party, accept the "guilty" of him who judges, the clearer it becomes to me that as judging I am acting in a different capacity, and that over me as judging and as judged there stands Another, to whom I am related and before whom I find the unity of my being in the degree to which I recognise Him. For man does not constitute a unity, but a Three-In-One-ness; admittedly a different Three-In-One-ness from that of the animal, in which only a world within, a body, and a world without are realised. He stands in a relationship which —according to Kierkegaard—"is related to itself, and it is only inside this Related-To-Itselfness that it is related to any other. Since it experiences desires to itself, the Self itself is transparently centred in the power which set it there".[1]

Man seeks to avoid the terrible reality of his own guilt by accusing the Other Man, who, as the sole guilty party, must be liquidated. Once the Other Man is liquidated the cause of the crisis will be removed. Only when he has tested out this possibility and it has led him to a complete impasse will man look at the second possibility, meeting his own guilt face to face, calling himself to account for all that he has done to others. Payment of that reckoning can end only with the annihilation of the man that has been. This is the true process of transformation to which the crisis leads and without which it cannot be liquidated. Instead of man passing into the zone of the magical sustained by intoxication, he moves into the zone of the mystical, which is conditioned by despair. Both lead to a re-shaping of consciousness, now advancing towards complete darkness. In the intoxication of the magical he experiences the irruption of the dark power of his being from which he has isolated himself. It overfloods his consciousness, and he becomes obsessed. In the desperation of mysticism he works upon and purifies himself, tearing himself away from the dæmons and creating a new consciousness. This, however, he can no longer do by his own power, but as the Godly Opposite or Counterpart raises him up. This new consciousness can therefore no longer maintain itself autonomously, but only as a servant, as a function; in the trinity of God-Conscience-and-Consciousness it constitutes only the instrument by which announcement is made.

[1] Sören Kierkegaard: *Sickness Unto Death.*

Chapter

5

THE ZONE OF THE MAGICAL

> "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes."
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> 1 John ii. 9–11 (Revised Version).

I

RELATIVISM, which entails the highest tension, is not a path for the many. The process of the darkening of the consciousness leads man to a point beyond his growth where he gives up the struggle to maintain and defend consciousness. He is then open to the dark forces of his nature which take hold and confer upon him a new feeling of plenitude and strength and power. And thus he arrives in the Zone of the Magical.

At the apex of the intellectual hierarchy, relativism leads to consciousness itself falling back into a subservient role, befitting its functional nature. In the lower strata consciousness, having been taken over ready-made, surrenders itself, and is promptly occupied by preconscious and subconscious forces, which make man their football, appearing now as blindly raging dæmons and now as beneficent spirits. The despair endured in relativism will, on the lower levels of the hierarchy, be clouded by the flight to intoxication, and thus be projected from the inner on to the outer world. By this means man escapes the torture of coming to terms with himself; but despair advances upon him now from outside, and embodies itself in the very event.

In the course of three decades when everything upon which he depends has been imperilled or destroyed, man has learnt by experience that he can live without consciousness; that in certain situations, indeed, it is only without consciousness that he can survive. If the man who went to war in 1914 with a song on his lips and flowers on his rifle had been able to see into the coming decades he would probably have been utterly broken. In great crises the

secrecy of the future appears beneficent. Life fits itself together like a mosaic from separate moments, which contain the fullness of the present and demand the whole of one's strength.

It is not always possible to delay over such questions as why things are or what they will be. In times of great crisis the strong primitive instincts stir and seek to maintain themselves in the individual as they do in whole peoples. The fight for existence is passionate, and the fighter has no time for questioning. It is enough if he gets a square meal and has a roof over his head. Cast into necessitous conditions, he has the urge to save his body, and if possible his soul also.

Man lives in the "Here" and "Now" of the instant, recking little of yesterday, which is past, or of the morrow, for which he will need all his powers anew! A good sleep is a better security for the coming day than a sleepless night full of reflections. Thought and consciousness are perversions showing themselves between stimulus and response, which must be instantaneous when the flash of firearms is in question. Here only the vital, animal instincts help one: the feeling for the watching eye and enemy finger on the trigger, and a numb knowledge of the motherly protection of the earth. If the man lacks this vitality of the questing animal, or cannot release immured capacities within him, the present will annihilate him. Consciousness in such situations brings man into danger, and he must throw out the maximum of ballast.

Man has learnt this by experience often enough in the last three decades. Borne by the confused urge of life in himself, and supported by the submerged powers of his instinct, man strode between numerous abysses which threatened to engulf him, and by so doing gained a new sensation of strength and power.

It is manifest that this could best be done by the human strata which had remained closest to the primitive level and were not in immediate relationship with consciousness. Many belonging to the intelligent upper stratum have been annihilated because they were incapable of adapting themselves. And periodically varying constellations of power sweep devastatingly through the "intelligentsia". For power can maintain itself only if it subjects to itself the intellect. The means of subjugation employed—bribery, social ostracism, imprisonment, torture or murder—matters little beside the fact.

The intellectual stratum has itself experienced a deep modification of consciousness. The deeper layers of the intellect have been rooted up, and drawn in to the realm of unconscious being wherein the gods and dæmons are at home. Some have experienced a late re-encounter with God; a different kind of God, certainly, from the

one that used to hang over our fathers' and grandfathers' beds. Others have fallen victim to the gruesomeness of anguish, and lost themselves in the spheres of the dæmons.

The process of contraction to which Time, Space, and Causality were exposed, which led to the darkening of consciousness, was accompanied by an inrush of the unconscious and vital elements in man, depressing the level of consciousness, simplifying it and reducing it to a low and primitive status. Thus he reaches the zones of the preconscious and subconscious, the magical world of nature-peoples and children, of collective bodies and psychopaths, where consciousness changes structurally.

2

The dominant power in the realm of magic is the collective body suited to its circumstantial world; and it can be understood only from that angle. While Western man lived in consciousness and believed in the myth of the " white man ", which the rest of the world confirmed, certain qualities appeared to set him apart from the body collective and predestined him to be an individual. They are still at work today.

These prerequisites first manifested themselves in Greek thought, which established the type of the conscious individual, and so doing drew a boundary line excluding the Continent of Asia, cradle of the human race. The Greek individualist based upon consciousness alone was not able to maintain himself. He set himself against the power of Natural Creation and that of the body collective, but in the course of a few centuries he succumbed to both. What began in an expansive uprush of freedom, ended in a longing for redemption.

Christian belief tore man free from Nature's fatalism and from compulsion by the collective body, and restored him to the realm of liberty; but not as a thinking individual based upon consciousness, but as a true believer, an individual based upon his soul's relationship to God. The self-assurance of thought, as it manifested itself in Socrates and provided the foundation for conscious individualism, had proved too weak. But the certainty of inner experience, as manifested in Augustine, desiring to find nothing other than God and the soul, has confirmed the individual through a millennium, and continues to do so where he maintains his pristine faith.

It is a mystery why human personality awakened on the frontiers of Asia, and found its completion in a mixture and a separation from the native soils of the old religions; or why, as in a mutation, Western man should constitute a new type of mankind.

Greek thought established the function of consciousness, and

Christian belief, with its novel existential experience, thus received an instrument for imparting information about itself. Through this linkage came that remarkable abundance of testimonies which is characteristic of Western history. They provide knowledge of individuals unmatched elsewhere quantitatively or qualitatively. Western man, impelled at least to pretend individuality, bears witness to the imperishable inheritance of the West, which the rest of the world has so far been able to assimilate, but not to enrich nor to replace.

Christianity placed man as an individual directly in the presence of God, and attested the irreplaceable value of the individual soul, thereby creating a liberty which had not previously existed. It is one of the tragedies of history that only a swiftly vanishing residue of this liberty remains, and it is one of the enthralling uncertainties of our twilight era whether the loss of liberty will be final.

Up to the Italian Renaissance, Western man lived within the polarity of the individual soul and God. The modern European holds the view that the individuality which he claims then first appeared, and he cites as evidence the many famous writers, sculptors, painters, explorers, and statesmen of the era. Man can exist as man only by virtue of confirmation from a source beyond himself. Such confirmation must be either religious, when man enters the presence of God and is confirmed by Him; or it is social, when man is confirmed by man and obtains his faith from the collective body.

Confirmation from the Godly Opposite does not confer the security of an autonomous Ego on man, lacking to his unfinished nature, but interprets the insecurity as part of his destiny and gives him strength to bear it. By surrendering himself to God, man becomes a function of God's Will, so that there is something other echoing through him. It is only as a *persona* that the individual really exists.

When man appears to be self-sufficient and autonomous, it is from social confirmation. The collective body steps into the place of the Godly Opposite. It has the advantage of being visible and tangible, and its presence is continuous; and it does confer a form of reality, an immediate security and completion. The whole of man's being cannot accept this, however, and the collapse of his existence bolstered up by the body collective is at some time inevitable.

None the less, the external values upon which such confirmation depends—wealth, power, and the innumerable advantages a man can display—are attractive. The man who can secure them wins approval; and his relationship to the body collective depends upon such qualities as vanity, thirst for fame, desire for power, lust for

money, ostentation, and the like; qualities which religion counts as sinful, and against which individuals before the Renaissance fought in themselves and others, but which came to full bloom in the Renaissance, and have since become the activating motives in Europe.

The Renaissance figures who serve today as models for the serial fabrication of personalities live on confirmation by the collective body alone. Such personalities are not *persona*, but depend upon the resonance of the crowd; they no longer obtain their confirmation from what is echoing through them, but they are confirmed by the echo which is reflected back upon them from the collective body. They are not individuals, but collective beings. Modern history turns them into Titans, and under the concept of genius stamps them with divinity. The collective body thus honours and confirms itself in their persons. For however impressive their performances in Renaissance times, they have become great as functionaries of the collective body, so that an upstart adventurer from Corsica, who left nothing of any value behind him, has been fêted as a genius, like an equally upstart successor who recently steered a nation to shipwreck.

The Italian Renaissance extinguished the polarity between man and God which was the basis of Western individuality. When the collective body took the place of God, the area of liberty began to dwindle away.

To understand the present situation it is important to get the historical correlation clear. Modern man has for some time been puzzled by the dominance of the body collective and the loss of his liberty, and notes with dismay that he is being overrun by the "masses" without being able to explain the sudden advent of the procedure. In fact, it is not happening at all suddenly, but represents only the last stage of an historical process which began with the Italian Renaissance, and is being rapidly pushed by the crisis to its end. But what was unconscious at the Renaissance has become conscious reality. Whereas then the whole light of consciousness fell upon the individual, who stood in the foreground, while the collective body, which alone made the play-acting possible, was blurred, now the background has moved into the spot-light, and the individual has become of no importance, since everyone can now see the wires he hangs on and by which he is worked. When the Master appears, the servant becomes insignificant.

Western man has passed once more under the compulsive dominance of the collective body, from which Christianity freed him when it placed him as an individual before God. His position differs little, except in its complications, from that of men at the end of the ancient

world. The same phenomena are reproducing themselves, with deceptive variations. The greater area slows down the whole world-process, while nations display a sprightlier tempo at the beginning of their dissolution. Within the national boundaries the Cæsars follow one another, but the whole world has not yet found its Augustus, being still in the period of civil war.

Christianity also released man from the fatalism of a nature in which Great Pan had died and rigid necessity was all. Over the expiring world of antiquity, with its dead gods, the Asiatic mother-soil poured the cornucopia of her cults, stifling the last remnants of liberty. The "primum mobile", founded by the rationalistic monotheism of the Greeks, had gone, but the planets remained, to receive from Babylonish astronomy a sinister glitter in which men shrank into puppets.

When the Italian Renaissance removed the polarity between the individual and God, man also fell again into the fatalism of nature. Once more the picture of the personified *Primum mobile*, this time that of the Living God, faded out. Once more the planets shone with sinister brilliance and took control of human destinies. Sponsored by the Arabs, star-divination in the thirteenth century began its triumphal progress through the West. It attained its peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but stretched on into the eighteenth.

It was not Christianity which this time liberated man from cosmic mechanism. Mathematics gave him insight into the working of the mechanism, and enabled him to adapt more of its power to his own will. This act created faith in the power of human consciousness, upon which man based the autonomy of his existence. But the liberty it conferred was not quite that indivisible liberty of his nature which Christianity had brought. It was limited to consciousness alone. Only as a thinking being could man surmount cosmic necessity and maintain his autonomy as liberty of thought and liberty of spirit. Liberty of thought and spirit are concepts which make the modern European's heart beat faster.

In the actual world of Nature the liberty peculiar to consciousness alone did not exist. To realise it man had to build a world of his own, the "Realm of Man" demanded by Francis Bacon, where he enjoyed unrestricted mastery and complete liberty. This realm, independent of Nature and subject only to the laws which man himself ordained, was the goal of the West. It has been very nearly attained in modern technical civilisation, and it is bringing man under a compulsion such as recalls the inception of his history.

Mechanism and collectivism, growing into a dæmonic unity which has become a totality, have been the instruments of this destiny.

The gigantic apparatus of our technical world-civilisation is modelled on the mechanism of the Universe as perceived by consciousness. The apparatus makes man independent of Nature's compulsion, and grants him a freedom unknown before. The apparatus could not recognise Nature and the Universe in their living totality, however, but could only accept and use them as the model for mechanism and materialism. So it could not take man over in his totality, but only as a conscious, thinking, reasonable being. It was forced to abstract his corporeal and spiritual elements. The materialised and mechanised apparatus was demanding a rationalised and intellectualised man.

The independence man has gained from Nature in his artificial world guarantees him considerable liberty. And as a conscious being contemplating, correcting, and improving his artificial world, his liberty is potent. But he is not free as " Man ", a total being. For the apparatus cannot use him as a total being, and he has to adapt himself to it. And if he is unable to discount the totality of his being, he experiences the grisly compulsion of the machine, he becomes " a cog in the wheels ", and feels a desperate lack of freedom.

Mechanism surrounds him, as it were, with a shell, and is reinforced by collectivism, which constitutes the inside of the shell.

The apparatus of technical civilisation depends upon the precisely regulated effort of the collective body, which has brought the rational allocation of labour to high efficiency. But collectivism has not only developed through the processes of technical civilisation, but was inherent in it from the start.

Natural science, which founded the modern world, was dependent upon two possibilities: discovery and the mathematical method. Both embraced the conception of the universe as a gigantic machine, its " Prime Mover ", the Living God, sinking into an hypothesis removable by negation. Science was therefore enveloped in materialism and mechanism. Discovery, which is creatively individual, was biased towards materialism and the machine, and tended to project its *a priori* convictions on to phenomena.

While discovery remains the province of the individual, however, the mathematical method makes precise thought by the collective body possible, because it ignores qualities and deals only with the quantities, and because it can present the results of its mensuration in self-evident figures and formulæ.

Number is a different abstraction from the word, which can never be a " sign " in the same way, but always allows vital polarity between the subjective and the objective to show, thus constituting a comparison and a synthesis of them. The more the word becomes a

"sign" only, the more debilitated it is; or, to put it another way, the richer its symbolic content, the poorer is its actual content. The word cannot be separated from its bearer, nor released from the polarity between subject and object. It is mediatory, but does not transmit the same image from speaker to hearer. The clarity and force of the word are greatest when it is spoken out of the depths of existence; that is to say, not from the consciousness, but from the conscience. It is therefore bound up with the individual, who receives it in the depths of his being, in abstracted meditation. "In the Beginning was the Word. And the Word was with God. And the Word was God."

Rationalism has always fought shy of this fact, and from Plato onwards has escaped by limiting itself to numbers. For Plato, clarity exists in mathematics alone. Galileo said that the Book of Nature had been written in mathematical terms and its characters consisted of triangles, crosses, and other geometrical figures. It was for that reason that Descartes demanded *Mathesis universalis* upon which to base the autonomy of consciousness. He even dreamed of a *Lingua universalis* in which the word should possess the same abstract positiveness of number, and hoped to attain the goal of philosophy by analysing the contents of consciousness down to their last elements; that is to say, by disintegrating speech into atoms, as Natural Science had the world.

The word is always something concrete. The word is flesh, while number is an atom, a small building component, which can be adapted to fit innumerable forms and formulæ. The word is therefore always bound up with the individual, and its essential content will be determined by the depth from which the individual speaks and the individuality of the hearer; that is to say, the depth to which it is able to penetrate. The truth of the word can therefore never be elaborated and heightened by the collective body, but only by the individual, who, to understand it, has to reach the existential depth out of which the word was spoken. Hence the catastrophic devaluation of the word today is identical with the devaluation of the individual.

And whereas the development of the word is limited, number is capable of a development which removes it ever farther from the world of tangible and visible forms whence it originates, and into the world of intellectual principles where it becomes autonomous and absolute, thus providing a basis for the autonomy of consciousness. The concept of number in its logical-autonomous form becomes an immediate outcome of pure thought-laws. It is referred to logical constants which are independent of any opinions and need

have nothing concrete corresponding to them. Truth communicated in numbers and self-demonstrated is as independent of its bearer as it is of an " opposite ", as independent of subject as it is of object. It can be applied to everything susceptible of numeration and mensuration, and needs neither interpretation nor clarification. Number constitutes a *Lingua universalis* capable of being elaborated collectively and made an instrument of communal thought.

Without this collective thinking the apparatus of technical civilisation would never have been attained. And within the network of numbers there is a logic which seems as it were to emerge out of the next stages of development. Men who employ the mathematical method only need follow the inner logic of the system to be driven on of themselves. They can speed up a course of development if they join the collective body and share in the work. In the last war atom-fission was speeded up by fifty years or so.

In mathematics, then, man found not only the means to subject Nature and the Universe to his consciousness, but also a language of such precision as to make communal elaboration possible, the collective consciousness making use of the energies liberated by the common work of numbers of men after division of labour.

The bodily and spiritual elements of the human being, however, not being mensurable or enumerable, were eschewed by mathematics and the technical apparatus, just as the imponderables of the Universe at large were ignored. As a conscious being man was given the external values which the technical apparatus could bestow, and in time was able to base his existence upon the body collective alone.

Thus collectivism and technical civilisation grow together, condition each other, and display themselves more and more openly. And the individual falls under their double compulsion, experiencing liberty only through the power afforded by the apparatus over Nature or the collective body. Power thus becomes the sole attribute of freedom. A hundred examples of that are given every day. Mechanism compels us to take the seven-seventeen train each day. In consciousness we stand above the fact, but as body-and-soul beings we thrust ourselves into the collective urge towards the railroad, there seeing two men who perceive their freedom in that part of the apparatus over which they have power. The chief guard perceives it as he drives the collective body into the carriage, bellows out his orders, and finally sets the whole affair in motion with a wave of his hand. The engine-driver sees it when, with a slight pressure on the lever, he races the crowded train forward at a speed which cocks a snook at the Laws of Nature. Guard and engine-driver are just

such poor devils, creatures overpowered body-and-soul as are we ourselves. While everything goes faster and faster, the individual life gets more and more pitiful.

3

The man of magic becomes obsessed by his world upon which he is utterly dependent and to which he is thoroughly adapted. If he escapes from his circumstantial world he runs aground on the Alien and Unknown. What distinguishes him from the beast is his disruption of the natural unity of inner world—body—and outer world to which the animal is adapted. Winning possession of the world of Nature around him, he created himself a world of his own, which might be termed pre-cultural, where he lived in an inner world which might be termed pre-conscious. He was closely adapted to his circumstantial world, which enclosed him like a shell, within which there were strict laws and no liberty. Beyond it lay the world of humanity's aboriginal anguish, from which man had screened himself. There was for him no possibility of life beyond the shell. He existed as a member of the tribe or race, and not as an individual. The collective body is formed not only of living members, but also of their ancestors long dead. It constitutes a single body, none of its separate members being able to say " I ", but living only through the joint " We ".

It is thus that we first encounter primitive man, the " man of magic " on the first step of human development. There he stands, unfinished, imperfect, a weakly being ill-adapted to maintaining his life ; but the fact that he can do so amid a creation grown alien to him constitutes his liberty. It is a very restricted liberty. Maintaining himself solely as member of the body collective, he knows nothing of it, cannot be said to possess it.

Many millennia of effort and sacrifice were needed before man could release himself from the zone of the magical, liberate himself from the body collective and his narrow circumstantial world, and establish himself as an individual. It has needed few centuries to sling man back again into the zone of the magical, the process being accelerated in the last three decades.

Within the artificial world of technical civilisation, man is superior to all earthly creatures. He can rise higher and more swiftly than any bird, dive deeper than any fish, conquer space where no other creature could live. He has powers which earlier man would attribute to God.

This artificial technical world has been elaborated and brought to astonishing perfection in the course of a few decades. It has

embraced wider and wider areas of the earth, until today the whole world is practically a man-made universe, where he can propose and dispose as he pleases. Technical civilisation now confers upon him everything of which he stands in need: power, protection, help, surety, and security of every kind. Nobody is shut out from this artificial world. Over the whole surface of the globe there is no space which has not been incorporated in the world of technical civilisation. And if there were, the man who left civilisation would be lost, for civilisation has deprived him of faculties upon which primitive man depended. Modern civilised man has no chance of living without its technical aids. Thus paradoxically man has escaped from dependence upon Nature to dependence upon the artificial world of his own creation, and finds himself under the same kind of compulsion as primitive man.

Until a few decades ago man scarcely perceived this state of dependence. He was comfortable in his new world, enjoyed the power it gave, and accepted it as liberty. His vision circled round the perfecting of his world, and there are still those who manage to believe in that goal. Their ideal is the big modern city, with its lights and window-displays, its swift tempo and its restless rhythm. To enlarge the fairy-tale town into a fairy-tale world, where all man's wishes would be fulfilled, is their dream of the future.

The crisis made man conscious of his dependence on his artificial world; it brought the reverse side of it into view. In three decades the ideal of the Big City has been reversed: men dream of a modest house in the country, with a large garden and a few trees, and liberty—lots of liberty. Or they dream of a desert island far from civilisation with all its horrors.

The crisis has made man conscious of where he has gone. He no longer feels at home in his world, but suddenly perceives that he has absolutely no hope of escaping from this world. "Totality" and "total" are the words of power arising from this experience, and they keep appearing in different guises. "Totality" means the inseparable unity of the animal with its environment. It is found in the closed organisation of the beehive or the ant-heap, objects of close observation by man today. "Total" applies equally to primitives, whose closed world is composed of a thousand interplaited strands, for which reason primitives are taking an ever greater place in scientific thought today. The renewed groping into their nature has arisen from experience of the new totalitarianism of civilisation.

Within technical civilisation each man has his task to perform so that the gigantic apparatus can function without friction. And his

total dependence is increased by the necessary specialisation and division of labour. The apparatus can only use men as conscious beings, and drives them towards limiting their existence to consciousness. The unconscious vital and emotional elements of human beings are a hindrance to specialisation.

To adapt himself to the apparatus, man must renounce certain elements of his being which would imperil its working. He has to go through a stage of preparation. This is similar to the initiation rites of primitive peoples, often long and often painful, which a man must undergo before being given his place in the tribe. Personality is not to be built up within the apparatus, which imprints a special character in accordance with its own will. Independence of character would be like sand in the wheels. The wheels are so interrelated and ground to fit that they need oil; that is to say men who are soft and pliant, ductile and obedient, who embody an agreed average which has to be worked out and adjusted, and are well specialised.

> "If the measure of mankind is the average output-performance, then the individual as an individual is of no importance. Nobody is indispensable. In his function the individual becomes a general term, not his own self. Predestined for this life are men who have no desire to be themselves; they take the precedence. It seems as if the world has to get into the hands of mediocrity, of men without a destiny, without a rank and without a humanity of their own." [1]

The bigger the apparatus becomes and the more totally it is established, the smaller must be the man whom it protects; for the apparatus can increase in size only through the work of the collective body, i.e. through a distribution of labour, which makes it inevitable for the individual man to give up ever wider areas of his being. The artificial world swells forth gigantically, and not only does it embrace the earth ever more totally, but it also draws individual man ever more completely into itself, with no hope of escape. To maintain the apparatus and ensure his own existence within it the individual has to specialise more and more, differentiate himself, incorporate himself; that is to say, he has to allow ever wider areas of his nature to be lopped off, levelled down, or stunted. Hence the tiny stratum of those capable of supervising this gigantic apparatus must dwindle. Proper supervision would require an independent and universal attitude, but power and position, influence and directive authority are to be found only within the apparatus, and it demands a specialisation which is death to any independence, any universality.

[1] Karl Jaspers: *The Intellectual Situation of Our Time.*

Hence the mechanism keeps growing by its own power of inertia, attaining an existence of its own compared with which man's existence seems unimportant, while its direction grows more and more problematical. Man, no longer in possession of his circumstantial world, is becoming obsessed by it like primitive man; and a prerequisite of the magical zone has been provided.

The primitive only functions as member of a collective aggregation, which in its totality must be termed individual. This second prerequisite is contained in the first, and has also become reality to modern man. The apparatus, only able to employ the normalised incorporated and interchangeable average-man if it is to function without friction, uses every means to grind man to the desired pattern, flattens out all particularities, and makes of men a closed and uniform collective body, which in its turn carries farther the process of "incorporating" the individual.

Hence the apparatus only constitutes the instrument with which the body collective, promoted by the Italian Renaissance to be the supreme court of appeal to humanity in the West, creates itself means to realise itself. Christianity gave reality to the individual placed before God, and individual personalities abounded as long as the Christian God was recognised as supreme. The collective body, as the supreme court, can only give reality to itself, and reveals its nature in "the masses" enclosed by the shell of the apparatus.

> "The masses and the apparatus belong together. The big machinery is needed to give the masses life. It must be disposed towards mass qualities: in its working, towards masses of workers; in production, towards evaluation of masses of consumers. Masses there have always been, of but transitional reality, in the form of loose heaps of unorganised humanity who coalesce to unity in their affectivity. Masses in the form of a public have at various times been a typical product of history: the indefinite delimitation and stratification of people mentally akin, through listening to and accepting the same words and views. But masses as the whole body of men so incorporated in an all-embracive apparatus that the will and qualities of the majority have to be decisive, is the continuously demonstrated power in our world today, which assumes a merely transitional form in the public and the masses regarded simply as heaps of humanity." [1]

The apparatus arises from the collective body's will to present itself as such, and it becomes the collective body's instrument for

[1] Karl Jaspers: *The Intellectual Situation of Our Time.*

revealing itself ever more clearly and realising itself ever more totally. Apparatus and collective body are not to be distinguished. The former is the outside and the latter the inside of one gigantic body, "Humanity", into which Western man has coalesced to conquer the world, and into which the whole of mankind will be incorporated in the course of a couple of centuries, to thrust forth into the outer universe. For this living giant, containing three milliards of human beings and provided with cosmic energies of immeasurable force, is more than the planet can contain. The collective forces which it has released and goes on releasing, and the cosmic energies which it has put into the service of the apparatus and is every day increasing, will either thrust forth to conquer further space or they will blow the planet to bits.

Under the double compulsion of the mechanism of his artificial world, and of the collective body, man has slithered back to his historical beginnings, and passed into the zone of the magical.

4

Up to the outbreak of the crisis, man felt a sense of comparative well-being under the domination of apparatus and body collective, and lived so securely, and was so sure of himself within the narrow sphere of his consciousness, that he failed to notice his retrogression to the world of the magical.

That was suddenly changed at the outbreak of the crisis, which brought an irruption of dark alien forces, shattering to his consciousness because they could not be classified in its categories.

The machinery of his technical civilisation lost its precision and its soothing frictionless rhythm, and tore away the props on which his consciousness was based. He then perceived that the self-certainty of thought did not exist, but confidence in rationalism was due to the achievement of technical civilisation.

Suddenly the whole world seemed changed. The apparatus went in fits and starts. Money vanished into thin air, and hoarded security was lost. Profession and work, chief bulwarks of modern security, collapsed. What was the unemployed man to do? In a "total" world there is no free space. Anyone losing his place is lost, outlawed, and excommunicated, just like a primitive who had been cast out of his tribe. And why should a man who had worked willingly all his life be suddenly thrust on to the street and forced to accept the State's beggarly charity?

But that is not all. Food becomes scanty. Clothes wear out and there are no substitutes. Dwellings rock and are brought to ruins. Even the home is threatened. Man wanders in the void, and death

reaps a rich harvest. Home, family, profession, and property—in technical civilisation these were the great securities of an existence sure of its ends, and with no longing for God.

Man's fall from security is appalling. The blow is more devastating than any natural catastrophe was to bygone ages. Then, man could but accept the event and rely on harmony re-establishing itself in Nature. In technical civilisation man can rely on nothing but the power of his consciousness. And it is his faith in his consciousness and all-sufficient power which the crisis strikes down. Once security vanishes from the encompassing world, and with it any inner certainty, consciousness descends into the world of magic. It is a more confusing world.

The world of consciousness falls naturally into subject and object, standing sharply defined one against the other. Man possesses a clear picture of the world, and of himself. "I" and "World" were fixed magnitudes of his conscious state. The fact of their conditioning each other, of the security of culture, and the certainty of consciousness being mutually correspondent, were matters of which he was unaware, because he lived naturally in his world.

The world of the magical does not possess this clarity. In it the subject and the object, "I" and the "World", do not stand out sharply distinguished, but melt into each other, so that it is impossible to disentangle the subjective and objective elements in an experience. Modern civilised man has difficulty in thinking his way into this world; yet he can reach it at a stride. He has only to lose his way on an excursion in a dense forest. The night overtakes him. And the transition from the last of daylight, through the twilight when things become diffuse and liquid, to complete darkness, makes his nerves tense and works him into an unusual state of excitement. And now the noises of an alien world break over him, such as his consciousness cannot define and fit into his scheme of things. The bellowing cry of a wild beast, the scream of a screech-owl, the cooing laughter of a wild dove, the rustling and crackling in the undergrowth, the heavy swishing of the tree-tops, and the ghostly wing-beat of a bat. From every quarter something presses in upon the City man, an "It" of whose significance he knows nothing, whether it threatens and imperils him or is indifferent to him. Consciousness gives up. It has none of the experimental knowledge of the forester, who can refer these noises back to their causes. He only hears a shriek, a bellowing cry, a soft laughing coo, a heavy movement above him, and perceives the slip-stream of some being fluttering past his head. His imagination is filled with horrors which the bright day and illuminated night of the Big City had banished. A juniper bush suddenly stands

before him, as big as a man and with a face of its own. A root twists in a bizarre shape before his feet, like a wooden snake. A tree holds out its branches like open arms. And the earth on which he treads answers heavily and hollowly.

One little step off the pathways of the bright world, a landmark missed, an unknown road—only some trifle—and we find ourselves in the world of magic again. Even speech offers no absolute security. Unlike number, the word has never lost its magical past. If we rise over the flat surface of speech in thinking, in speaking, or in writing, we are like a man riding over the Bodensee Lake. We need only pause over a word and question its meaning, and the thin ice breaks, and we fall into the uncertainty of the magical.

Man's consciousness is not secure and solid, but is thinly partitioned from a dark realm within us and around us, from which elemental forces may break into the narrow guarded area of our Ego and of our conscious circumstantial world and flood it out.

Imagine yourself in the first-class dining-saloon of a large ocean liner. Self-conscious, well-dressed people move about with staggering naturalness. Their security rests on experience and belief. Experience tells them that thousands of such voyages have been made without danger, and they believe that this trip will turn out like the others. Thus the passengers are shut off from depth and amplitude in their experience of the sea, feeling none of the tension, the demand for mental alertness which man once brought to an ocean crossing. These forces are lying waste, and must be expended in some other way. Thus the vast and violent background of the sea becomes no more than a bit of scenery against which human beings flirt and play and dance, eat and drink well, and display each his or her own dolled-up Ego, anxiously listening for applause, approval, confirmation. Clarity, security, and consciousness on the one side—emptiness, poverty and metaphysical boredom on the other; such are the advantages and the disadvantages of ridding ourselves of our burdens by means of consciousness.

For the rest, the security of the ocean liner is deceptive. The passengers know nothing of the burdens of those who carry the responsibility for the ship. Every malady, theft, danger—indeed, anything which might impair the passengers' sense of security—is hidden away.

But suppose the liner runs into an iceberg or on to a mine left over from the world war. At a single blow the passengers' circumstantial world is altered and the security of their Egos destroyed. The bizarre and dæmonic spectre of the magical will emerge from these Lords of Creation, and despite tail-coats, pearl-necklaces,

dance music, and attentive stewards, there will suddenly appear that creature millennially accustomed to suffering and wretchedness, man; that thing ugliest yet nearest to God in all creation, who bellows his anguish and desperation up to heaven, and grabs at expedients at which he would have laughed while drinking his last cocktail. We are not clear of the world of magic; a false step, a trivial stumble, and back we are in the midst of it.

When modern man sinks back into the sphere of the magical, subject and object become "charged" again, and regain their dangerous and incalculable force. The unity of subject and object arises from a mental attitude completely different from that of conscious man. Man living in the collective "We" becomes one with a thing, for in the world of magic there is nothing dead and soulless; everything is bedded in a mystical force which fills and dominates the whole world.

> "The mentality of primitives allows them to think and feel at the same time that all beings are similar, that is, that they all partake of the same substance and the same sum-total of qualities. It seems by no means important to separate things into different classes, genera, and kinds in accordance with an hierarchy of concepts logically determined by their extensions in time and in space. It tries first andfore most to establish whether the objects which evoke and hold its attention contain the 'mana' or 'immunu', and to what extent, and whether this mysterious fluidum is well disposed or hostile. . . . The primitive sees as we do the great difference between a stone and a tree, or between a fish and a bird. But he does not stop there, and does not perceive it in the same way as we do. The form of the being only interests him so far as it permits him to conjecture what amount of 'mana' or 'immunu' it contains. He therefore sees nothing unusual in metamorphoses which would seem to us quite unbelievable; for in his view things can change their forms in an instant. They are all vessels of mysterious forces, and an apparently insignificant-looking being may contain it to a frightful degree. Despite their apparently endless diversity things are thus basically similar; the primitive feels no need to investigate them or try to learn about their natures; he is sure of their similarity." [1]

Soul and thing form a unity, held together by the same mystical power which floods the world and is to be found in all beings and all objects. One can speak of a mystical participation of the soul in

[1] Levy-Brühl: *The Thought of Nature-Peoples.*

its object (*participation mystique*), or one can say the soul is obsessed by its object, it communicates with it, has total experience of it in a symbiosis.

> " Things frequently contain a significance which does not lie in their mere appearance. They are at the same time subjectivised, filled with soul, filled with spirit and filled with spirits." [1]

It is the world of primitives, nature peoples, and children, of sagas, fairy tales, and ghosts, where all things are inspired with life and soul and everything is interchangeable. It is the world of dreams, where things lose their forms and melt into one another. Also, of course, it is the world of lunatics and psychopaths.

Space and Time and Causality in the world of the magical are of utterly different shape from their phenomenal form in the world of consciousness.

> " If natural savages do not think of seeking out causal connections, if they consider these unimportant, it is the natural consequence of the enduring fact that in their collective imaginations thought is vigilant for the intervention of secret forces. Hence the causal connections which are for us the skeleton structure, the basis of their reality, and mean stability, have very little interest for them. Bentley relates that Whitehead saw one of his workers sitting on a rainy day directly in the cold wind. He told the man to go home and put something on. But the man countered him: ' One does not die from a cold wind. That means nothing. One only gets sick or dies if one has been bewitched.' " [2]
>
> " The primitive mentality busies itself, as ours does, with the causes of events. But it does not look in the same direction for them. It lives in a world wherein innumerable occult forces are everywhere present and constantly active or ready to act. Knowledge of Nature's laws suffices for us. The attitude of primitive man is quite different. He may have noted the consistent precursors of the event interesting him, and in action he takes these observations most carefully into account. But he will always look for the real causes in the world of unknown powers, on the far side of what we call Nature; in ' metaphysics ' in the literal sense of the word." [3]

[1] Th. W. Danzel: *The Man of Magic.*
[2] Levy-Brühl: *The Thought of Nature-Peoples.*
[3] Levy-Brühl: *The Mental World of Primitive Man.*

This is the world into which modern man falls when the crisis destroys the props of consciousness.

5

His world of magic, with its preconscious and subconscious elements, resembles the world of the primitives, and yet is different from it. Just as conscious attitudes, cynicism, stoicism, heroism, and fanaticism have been broken by historical reflection and raised to the power of 2, so has the world of magic in civilisation; it is not so much preconscious as post-conscious.

Modern man reacts like primitive man to the things which shatter him. He makes use of conjuration and enchantment; he sees the spirits and dæmons, witches and devils standing behind dark shapes and anxious to destroy him; he scourges and sacrifices himself and others in a fantastic passion, which is no longer open to persuasion on the plane of consciousness. In the world of the magical, the secret of the power of the dæmons resides in their invisibility, and having no images and no names. Modern man, once firmly established on consciousness and confirmed in his Ego, does not believe in spirits and dæmons. And although the apparatus of his artificial world is indeed no longer functioning as a whole, its smaller wheels continue running, and give a semblance of reasonableness which hides the magical elements. They keep assuring man that his consciousness is still in order and that everything is going splendidly, just as it used to do. When I settle at the steering-wheel of my car, slip in the gears, tread on the gas, and start off; when the train to which I have been directed continues to leave at seven-seventeen precisely; when machines and motors go on working automatically, the reasonable order of the world is confirmed as it was before, and this assures me that I, too, am reasonable and in order.

That is what is new and peculiar in the situation today: the apparatus of the artificial world, its cool, neutral, precise, and rational matter-of-factness and sobriety conceal the fact that man has for a long time been living in a world of magic. The rites and conjurations, the exorcisms and black masses, play their part outside the apparatus and in secret, like rebellious upheavals and revolutions. The modern world cannot stage the spectacle of the guillotine for us, the big theatrical mass scene, the chaotic muddle which used to fill the stage and excite in earlier days. Men did not then live in a total world, entirely dependent upon it, and with no free space. They could therefore let loose their emotions with far less restraint, and stage fearful spectacles without millions being given over to destruction. But today the apparatus does not tolerate these emotions

either in the man or in the masses, because the seven-seventeen morning train must leave to time, otherwise the apparatus will be endangered and innumerable men's lives and happiness with it. Consequently the magical creates for itself a closed reserve, where it can rage at will. It passes off into darkness and thrives in secret. The man who comes into contact with it regards it as phantasmagorical once he has returned to the cool reasonableness of the apparatus of his artificial world.

Where the magical is not hidden and obscure it obtains a cloak of reasonableness by the contribution and participation of the apparatus as intermediary, the dæmonic element by which man is obsessed takes on a precise matter-of-factness and sobriety. Modern burnings of heretics are admirably arranged; the prosecutions of witches are technically sound, with chemical injections substituted for the old instruments of torture; and the pilgrimages of the flagellants, who are fitted out with the best of up-to-date automatic scourges, are excellently planned. The guillotine is irrational in its working; there are better technical instruments. One puts a man in at one end of a machine, and at the other end gets a standardised urn complete with inscription. The reasonableness of the apparatus is untouched, and men go on working to perfect it. It is only the spiritual attitude which has become magical.

When the apparatus is switched on, all that happens has an air of reasonableness. When we hear of the flagellants' pilgrimages and jumping processions of the Middle Ages, read of earlier epidemics, popular riots, and revolutions, or contemplate the brightly coloured pictures of early wars, we always see a chaotic medley of noise and shrieking, enthusiasm and despair, under the arch of a flaming sky. The magical emerges into sight, naked and untrammelled. Similar events today look entirely different, and seem quite sensible. The famous "void" of the modern battlefield, the automatism of the machinery of war, the matter-of-fact actions, and the sober way people die, have taken all the colour out of war.

Imagine how one of those flagellants' pilgrimages would look today! It would be carefully planned, the route settled, whip-leaders and section commanders appointed, standardised scourges issued. The marching-songs would be specially composed. Sanitary platoons would accompany the march, and so would Press cars, Radio cars, and Film lorries. Everything down to the last detail would have been worked out in advance. As a result, all that happened would have such a sensible appearance, would be organised with such precision, and the masses themselves have such a disciplined appearance, that onlookers would quite forget what was

really happening. " It looks plumb crazy, yet there's method in it."

The world of magic is characterised by the collective body being adapted to its surroundings and obsessed by it. In the secondary world of magic in which we are today the characteristics are not so easy to recognise. As a functionary of the collective body and a servant of the apparatus, the individual man still retains the concept of being a personality in himself. The apparatus has become a function to him, an instrument which deals sensibly with all it has to handle, and by virtue of its inherent functional reasonableness confers upon every task *a priori* a sense of reason. And to him the collective body is but an amorphous mass which, on his own ground, he keeps having to reintegrate anew, with the help of the apparatus, into the apparatus.

And he has no inkling that he has become obsessed by both apparatus and body collective. The apparatus of which he handles the control lever, and the amorphous mass which he regulates, do not in fact stand before him as objects of his free autonomous will, but have taken possession of him as dæmonic subjects in respect of which he himself has become an object. The immense forces disposed laterally in the apparatus itself, and the elemental forces active in the body collective, nowadays use man as a function of their self-realisation. The horrible fact is that man, while he believes that he has before him a neutral apparatus and an amorphous mass as objects, has passed into the zone of the magical, has been flooded with apparatus, energies, and collective hallucinations, and become an object confined to the dæmons who have long been in both and are today breaking out.

The world of the magical is dominated by the anguish of the dark and sinister, the horror of the unexpected and dangerous, the perplexity of the ambivalent and obscure, by the haziness of the iridescent and the mutable, and finally by the enchantment of miracle and of curious omens. All of which may at any moment burst upon man out of his circumstantial world. Hence he must be constantly on the alert, straining all his senses; for life and death depend upon their proper functioning. In the world of the magical there is neither security nor certainty. Where everything is contained in everything else, and everything is conditioned by everything else, there is no room for any firm hold. In the place of the clear and definite Opposite, there is a kind of All Together, Each in Each, and All Through Everybody Else.

The very fact that the world has no Opposite, but is defined by the possibility of " Negation ", is the source of anguish from which

there is no escape, not even within the security of one's own four walls. For the four walls have been conquered by the apparatus and the collective body. Anguish may sound through the telephone or echo through the loud-speaker. There are innumerable men in the West today who start convulsively whenever the door-bell rings, and who await with anguish the sound of the postman's approaching footsteps. Collective body and apparatus can now make many impossible demands on the individual.

Anguish is breaking out from such depths of human nature that it is turning man into a pursued and hunted creature. Every tenth person in the West dies of anguish of heart which constricts the chest and stifles breathing. Man finds himself, as it were, in pincers which close upon him now from outside, now from within. If the circumstantial world of the collective body appears momentarily secure, there is no relief from strain. Metaphysical anguish rises from the depths of his being, concerning the inexorable drive towards old age, sickness, and death.

Man enters the circumstantial world tense and alert with that wariness with which primitive man contemplates the world around him, for at any moment the unexpected and dangerous may happen. Having lost the grace of security, the world has become sinister.

From the beginning the unexpected hid itself elementally behind the precision and regularity of the machine. The enormous forces stored within it kept destroying the walls of their prison and breaking into the security of the artificial world. Man secured his consciousness by incorporating all accidents into the numerical system, bringing them under an historic or statistical rhythm, and thus bringing them into the mechanism as a factor of insecurity. And this was never an unimportant factor, for even within the security of civilisation every eighth or ninth man dies violently under the mechanism, multitudes are scarred, and we all maintain a constant alertness and tension.

Through the crisis the unexpected, always latent in the apparatus, has become disturbingly apparent and increased. Elemental forces keep breaking through the asphalte covering of security. Risk and uncertainty can no longer be subordinated to the alternations of historical rhythm and the constancy of statistical probability, but have attained the dæmonic liberty of the incalculable, and penetrated the whole apparatus.

Uncertainty also characterises human encounters. They seem, indeed, to be a good deal easier than of old, but they are lacking in courtesy, and men watch each other tensely and cautiously, seeking the other fellow's weak spots. Primitive man lays his weapons

aside, displays his empty palm or waves a green branch, in order to create a neutral area for a meeting. The area for encounters today is neutralised *a priori*, but everyone enters it fully armed. People meet knowing that they want something from each other, and that words only serve to prepare the sortie, to make a feint or set a snare. Tension which hangs over the collective body today is like an electrically charged thunder-cloud.

There is as yet no apparatus capable of measuring tension, but no one who enters the collective body can escape it. It fills the big cities with dæmonic energies, speeding up human footsteps and giving men that hurried and hunted quality which seeks security by increasing the tempo of the machine.

Closely akin to the unexpected is the mutable. Chameleon-like, man and his world vary their colours. It is not only the incessant changes of fashion and style, models and manners, appearances and opinions. The world of the magical is the world of dreams, where things and people melt into one another and are interchangeable. The secret force of the collective soul flows through all, insatiably scrapping old forms and producing new ones, and whirling mankind into dreams of unlimited possibilities.

Not only has the world been subjected during the last two or three hundred years to steady change, modifying the framework of life to which man had been accustomed for thousands of years, but man himself has been the victim of the long-term change, and the tempo has been greatly increased during the last hundred years. When, by the concept of " Progress ", man fitted it into the categories of consciousness, and believed it brought increasing benefit, he lacked the insight to perceive, in Solovyev's words, " that notably accelerated progress is always a sign that the end is near ".

As a result of the crisis the " mutable " has left the framework of historical development and concentrated itself in the fullness of the instant. It is no longer perceived, since there is a lack of fixed measuring-rods and means of comparison. Man can no longer say how he is going to find the world, nor what kind of person he himself will be on the morrow. Time and Space have assumed a strange life; they shrivel or extend without perceptible rhythm. Man has to rediscover his circumstantial world daily, and test anew the people he meets, and is continually forced to change himself. Like a nocturnal tramp, he moves in constantly changing form through the dream landscape of his world.

It would be deceptive to portray only the horrible aspects of the zone of the magical, with man caught in the wheels of the apparatus or by the fangs of the collective body, when he will be quite pitilessly

pulped and torn. He is also charged by apparatus and collective body with potencies and energies which lift him high above himself, into an intoxication where everything seems easy and the world is at his feet. The intoxication not only confers a sense of limitless power, but for hours on end creates a feeling of a liberty almost mystical in its intensity.

In the zone of the magical the experience of liberty is bound up in a mysterious way with rhythm, expressed in terms of the apparatus or the body collective. Primitive man knows liberty in dancing, the collective body yielding itself to rhythm expressed by drumming and clapping, stamping and shouting. If circumstantial world and body collective are fused in rhythm, the individual, yielding himself to the collective intoxication, experiences great relief and liberation. He becomes the sum of all the energies at work with him and around him, which lift him above himself.

Our " secondary " magical world is carried by a similar rhythm. The apparatus works by regulated movement, " Time ", embodied in the clock, being its supreme law. The rhythm of the regulated movement throbs through the stamping of machinery and the droning of motors, and confers upon the whole apparatus that dæmonic vitality which is its own. The surrounding world, by which man is obsessed, pumps its rhythm into him from morning till night. The collective body also has its own rhythm, which it is quite impossible to escape. To go slower than the normalised " tempo " of a town, for example, would cause an obstruction in the traffic, and collective pressure would soon restore the normal rate. The closer apparatus and collective body grow to unity, the more united will be their rhythm, until the individual will be enslaved by it. He bears as eternal symbol of the bond the leather strap of a pocket watch or wrist-watch which regulates his life.

The feeling of the might and power of these energies, and the experience of his freedom, are his only when he subordinates himself to their rhythm and allows himself to be carried along by it. The intoxicating rhythm of dance-music is always on tap, stuffed out with banal promises of love and happiness. With a stiff air of festivity, he dances to it in the evenings, increasing his relaxation with the dope in tobacco and " drinks ".

But the characteristic rhythm of twentieth-century man is military. He experiences and celebrates his freedom as a political and national unit in the march-rhythms of the collective body. Our grandfathers' individual exercise of balloting, or going on the Grand Tour, has given place to gigantic marches and demonstrations, joint convoys and community tours, at which the community keeps together

and marches together, and works up the assurance necessary for affirming its opinions and venturing into an alien world.

When the rhythm of the apparatus coincides with that of the body collective, the intoxicating sense of power and might, and the experience of liberty, are at their height, reaching perfection in modern war. The rhythm of a thousand tanks or aeroplanes, precisely disposed and attacking the enemy at top speed, provided with massive engines to spew out death and destruction, and behind or below them the swift pace of endless columns of soldiers, borne forward by the same rhythm, the whole scene mounted and directed by the precision and reasonableness embodied in the apparatus—all this is without doubt the greatest experience of power, might, and liberty which man can have within the zone of the magical. Thereby he forgets the pitifulness of his existence and towers above himself, and thereby he rips down the wall between life and death, and hurtles enthusiastically into a darkness unlit by any wandering star.

But whereas primitive preconscious man can maintain himself in this zone, decadent post-conscious man who has fallen back into it can maintain himself in it only for a limited time. Apparatus and collective body need his strength in quick tempo, and then have no idea what to do with him other than slinging him aside. As opposed to the primitives' world of the magical, which constitutes a total ordering of things, where even ancestors are present and the aged enjoy authority, the " secondary " world of the magical (and here it shows its decadence) gives precedence to youth, devotes the sick to the beneficent hypodermic syringe and the aged to the poor-house.

Apparatus and body collective both claim in ever stronger measures the vitality of man, and the quota of men required for their long professional experience is decreasing. The hero of the collective body is the boxer, its idol the film-goddess. The worlds of sport and the cinema are dominated by the present, the transitory. The wise old man is not found among our ideals today. The demand for vitality means advancing the prime of life, which is reached at about twenty-five in respect of sport and thirty-five for craftsmanship; from the age of forty the process of scrapping begins, and at forty-five the problem of human collapse drives a man to the fireside and his wife to the beauty parlour.

The quota of men who have a great future behind them is constantly increasing. " Have been " people with " lived lives " spread like weeds over real life, the vitality of which keeps rising. This is the reverse side of intoxication, with its feeling of power and might and liberty. The dancing dervish, too, breaks down at the peak of his intoxication, and lies about like a squashed fruit. Here from the

biological rises the frontier of the world of the magical, set by physical and psychical collapse.

6

The crisis has aggravated all these phenomena because it has strengthened the unity of apparatus and collective body. In face of the alien and sinister thrusting against him, no longer capable of inclusion in the old categories of consciousness, man flees into his shell and endeavours to perfect it and make it secure. And all the " isms ", too, begin working (despite the constant and manifest contradictions between them) towards the same end of uniting apparatus and collective body.

They can be distinguished by their approach from the direction of the apparatus or of the collective body. Industrialism and capitalism, both leagued with science, work for the perfecting of the apparatus; socialism and communism, leagued with the science of history, work for the perfecting of the collective body, and seek to enforce its unity. And in this swiftly coalescing unity powerful universal and human energies are being released and aggregated. They are supposed to stem the crisis, but they only contribute to it.

For the shell of technical civilisation which they seek to perfect bears the crisis within itself, and the new powerful energies only serve to make the wheels rotate faster and add to the threat of explosion from within.

It is precisely the " isms " which in the meantime have been transmuted and have assumed a dæmonic quality, accelerating the stampede into the zone of the magical. That becomes clear in surveying the development.

The essence of Industrialism consisted until quite lately in a condensation of material and power to a degree not known in Nature. Fire, water, air, and earth were subjected to an ever more potent process of condensation and intermixing, displayed most clearly in the development of the two factors which remain among the chief pillars of the apparatus: coal and iron.

In prehistory, antiquity, and the Middle Ages smelting was known: low blast-furnaces of clay and stone were filled with ore and charcoal, and their fire was blown up by natural draught or hand-activated bellows. This produced the bloom, the lump of iron interpenetrated by slag, which was turned into iron and steel by repeated heating and hammering. A tendency towards condensation is already shown in the transformation of the wood into charcoal, the compression of the air in the bellows, and the artificial mixing of these compressed elements. But the process remained relatively

stable for a thousand years. It was only towards the end of the Middle Ages that the four elements were more powerfully condensed. Water-power was included, permitting the use of larger bellows and, by the fifteenth century, of tall, walled, composite furnaces, and these, by better application of the heat, produced liquid iron. A new conjunction of compressed water with compressed air drove the iron foundries from the forest heights so rich in raw material down into the river valleys, where they remained generally unchanged until the middle of the eighteenth century.

A further condensation ensued after European timber had shrivelled away and coal was substituted. It proved possible to condense this already compressed wood into coke, and thus to increase the fire's intensity. This not only led to enormously increased production, but the product was condensed. With the casting of steel the foundries moved on from water to coal.

The final concentration occurred when water, air, and fire were condensed and mixed in the form of steam. The water-wheel was displaced by the steam-engine, which, in hammering and roller mills, began to take over the work of the smith. The nineteenth century only improved and extended the process.

In this development the process of the concentration is growing manifest. Firing was condensed from wood through charcoal to coal, and finally to coke; air, from natural draught through bellows and water-wheel blast to compressed air mechanically produced; water, from natural gravity pressure to that of the steam-engine; and the product itself from ferrous ore through wrought iron and cast iron down to rolled and cast steel.

There is nothing mysterious about this development; it can be clearly followed from beginning to end. Only in the phenomenon of the steam engine something dæmonic bobs up for the first time.

In the nineteenth century, however, a brand-new factor entered into industrialism. Electricity was a power of a different order. Albeit with its undulant character, it split the structure of classical mechanics and founded the dualism of corpuscles and waves, to end by dissolving matter itself, its irruption disturbed the nineteenth century but little, intoxicated as it already was by miracles. Yet something alien and mysterious had broken into the world of man; a force which has filled and overmastered the whole world and has its part in everything, resembling the "mana" or "immunu" of primitive man.

Fire, water, air, and earth, despite condensation and intermixture, have been the basis of human living for thousands of years. But man is leaving this plane, and a new dæmonic principle is entering his

world, as he suddenly sees himself in the midst of a field of forces which pulse through and through with invisible waves and rays.

With electricity, he has really entered the magical zone of the " All in All " ; he has access to the innermost centre of the power which holds the world together ; he has penetrated the immediate sphere of the Divine, which meets him as dæmonic because he meets it, not with a clean heart, but with a Will to Power.

In the steam-engine the dæmonic principle is not veiled, and needs only an untroubled eye to recognise in it the homunculus or the *golem*. For this reason the steam-engine has kept provoking the artist to anthropomorphic caricature. In the motor the dæmonic principle has already been veiled, not to say " spiritualised ". It is still possible to see into the process of condensation which puts oil and gas in the place of coal and steam ; but with the spark, which strikes into this mixture and explodes it, something new has come into the world. The dæmonic is no longer visible, and the motor fails to provoke anthropomorphic caricature. Man does not possess it, but is obsessed by it. He makes it an instrument to separate himself from the earth, and conquers space.

The realm of waves and rays is becoming the peculiar zone of the magical. " Everything which seemed to us limited is become penetrable " ; but through it thunder the motors of its aeroplanes, and in it howl the magical voices of the sirens, and out of it there roar and gurgle down the ten-ton loads of destruction. The space of heaven has become the seat of dæmons. Hell is now " up above " instead of " down below ". Man cowers in shelters deep under the earth, and perceives by the shuddering and swaying of his cave that " hell is let loose up there ". But where the hell has heaven got to ?

This new force has needed only a few decades to make subject man and his whole artificial world. He is now obsessed by the primal forces of the universe ; an obsession which cannot be healed by committees and sub-committees, for they are too weak to " bid the unclean guest to go out of the man ".

The discovery of waves and rays has had two far-reaching results so far. Through electrical power, the unity of the world and of the collective body has almost been perfected. Total unity through the motor and the aeroplane, the telegraph and telephone, radio, film, and television, will be reached in the next few years. Thus we are all driven and fused into a collective body of some 2¼ milliards of human beings, all wanting to see the same things, hear the same things, and be penetrated with the same energy. This collective body, however, is placed in a world of the magical which itself has been " spiritualised ".

From the beginning industrialism was closely bound up with capitalism. Through the drive for gain and profit, industrialism obtained those human energies needed for its development. Money has always represented hoarded work, and it provided the dynamic to which technical civilisation owes its origin.

But capitalism has also undergone modification, and, like industrialism, has released new energies which have enormously increased its dynamics and given them a dæmonic character.

So long as money was directly bound up with the value of gold, it enjoyed tranquillity. And the rise of industrialism depended on the inflow of gold at the beginning of Modern Europe, from the voyages of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro. In the period from 1500 to today the acquisition of gold has increased from 5·8 tons annually to 1250; in which period about 130 milliards of gold have been extracted, and these, ploughed back into the work, made possible the erection of the Apparatus.

Gold did not only bring new energies to the modern era: it conferred a glitter of security, which made man's life on the worldly side appear sensible. This glitter has been removed by the crisis. In its flight from insecurity during the last decades gold has become the most mobile of values and most restless of wanderers. Ultimately it went to sleep in the rocky cellars of Fort Knox, Kentucky, where nearly four-fifths of the world's gold is guarded by tanks and machine-guns. It is not without irony that while the world's goldmines work feverishly to extract gold, the product is sunk deep in the earth again.

With the flight of gold, the liberation of money began. Bit by bit along the path of currency collapse, one country after another released itself from the gold standard. And a new and potent urge came into the world, because money, no longer based upon the dormant value of gold, could be directly bound up with labour. Labour thus began to displace gold as the support of money. Into the place of a dormant value representing labour stored up, and capable of being converted back into labour, labour has turned into an absolute value. Money is no longer created out of gold, to be converted into labour, but it is labour out of which money is created, not to be converted into gold and thus come to rest, but in order to be converted back into labour and thus create new money. Since labour as pure movement and dynamics is diametrically opposed to the dormant energy of gold, money has burst in on the dynamics of labour and taken away from it every chance of "settling down". It is incessantly rising and passing away, and maintains its value only so long as it goes on working.

During the alternation between gold and labour and the substitution of the latter for the former, not only money but also man has been deprived of the possibility of settling down and enjoying what he has. The apparatus and the collective body take care that the possibility of acquiring durable values grows steadily less, thus driving man into the dynamics of the moment and the permanence of the most intense labour. Pressed to work ever quicker by the instruments of mensuration and the conveyor belt, man has long been working for work's sake and as slave of the apparatus, without a chance to garner up the fruit of his work.

Industrialism and capitalism have released enormous energies and unchained mighty dæmons, which are put into action separately and jointly for the speedier completion and perfecting of the apparatus, to achieve which all conceivable powers are claimed and the body communal is incorporating men within the apparatus by every means up to and including direct compulsion.

Because socialism and communism oppose this overpowering of man by the apparatus, and start from the assumption that the apparatus exists for man and should be controlled by the community, they appear as the very antithesis of the above "isms". When socialism began to organise, in the nineteenth century, the worker was the special victim of a course of development which fostered a limited individuality and freedom, as earlier cultures had done, by basing itself on the toil of an exploited class. Naturally, the liberal theories of the nineteenth century did not say that; but they represented an unsecured draft on the future, while practice still conformed to the exploitation of the Fourth Estate.

The Fourth Estate had been experiencing the results of the apparatus at a time when the other estates were still intoxicated by its possibilities; the Fourth Estate made the railways and motor-cars with which other people drive to Nice and St. Moritz. It has slipped into the apparatus, and been incorporated, conditioned, and exploited.

As an object of the apparatus, the worker, torn from his linkage with soil or handicraft, specialised, disciplined, and literally forced into the mould of the homogeneous human type needed by the apparatus, was the first to undergo the experiences to which all men are coming by increasing totalisation. Through the priority of his experiences and sufferings he is becoming the representative human type of our age, and shows mankind's way of coming to terms with the apparatus.

His position in the apparatus has welded him to the collective body as first and last class. He has learnt the power of collectivism in

riots and strikes, in unions and organisations, in demonstrations and marches, and collective agreements for mutual assistance. In him the body collective, which made and had to make the apparatus out of men, has for the first time become conscious of its own nature. Having a basis in anthropology, and with the living example of the martyr before it, it came to terms with history and assumed possession of the eschatological Christian ideas—without offering any clear picture of man's nature or tasks. It was the practical dynamics of these ideas which formed the basis of socialism.

It is the tragedy of socialism that despite its opposition to the abuses of industrialism and capitalism, it is none the less polarically bound up with them; that is to say, it tends towards levelling out and a fusion. Its opposition is only apparent because it is unable to oppose itself to the apparatus, having been itself formed and conditioned by the collective body. The apparatus is working to subject the collective body and fuse it with itself, as the only way it can function. Socialism opposes the overpowering of humanity; but to prevail it uses the weapon of the collective body, organises, disciplines, and lines men up uniformly to capture the apparatus and hand it over to the collective body. It is thus working in the same direction and towards the same end as the apparatus itself.

The difference in goals only had reality in the nineteenth century when the collective body overmastered by the apparatus was a revolutionary minority. In the totalisation of the twentieth century, however, it is becoming a matter of indifference to the individual, his fate and his freedom, which functionaries of the collective body sit in the key-positions of the apparatus and pull the manipulative levers; or which "isms" they belong to and what ideologies and utopias they have as their Sunday best. They are men dehumanised and degenerate, no longer confirmed by God and dependent upon God, but upon men; having enormous energies in their hands, and capable of tasting their freedom only by the exercise and the increase of this power.

The "isms" are only apparently in conflict; in reality they keep playing ball with each other. Industrialism and capitalism work to perfect the apparatus, and to achieve this need the complete incorporation and fusion of the collective body. Socialism and communism are at work unifying the collective body in order to conquer the apparatus and bring it into their possession. And thus apparatus and body collective keep growing up from both sides, and the individual is squeezed in the jaws of an enormous vice. He fights an ever more hopeless fight for inner independence and freedom, above all for the totality of his being. Whether from inclination or interest,

he joins one or other of the "isms", and begins fighting and marching, and advances blindly and unconsciously into even greater compulsion.

Thus emerges the world of the magical into which we have passed and are living, a world swiftly approaching its goal. In it the "ism" also varies its character, and leaves the plane of consciousness where it sought wrongly to maintain itself, and returns to the abyss of the human soul where it took its rise. It thus becomes a myth, a prototype, no longer formed by thought and speculation to an ideology and turned into something abstract, but presenting itself as a dæmonically vital structure. In the myth man's primitive emotion is condensed, and the Collective Unconscious finds satisfaction, inaccessible to rational considerations, but subject to its own laws, which are those of Totem and Tabu. Mythical living figures float up ghost-like through the zone of the magical with a sinister vitality of their own.

These mythical figures have always existed, because the collective unconscious can only present itself in images and not in logical abstractions. For that reason every age has had its dæmons, whether manifested as heretics, witches, enchanters, aristocrats, Jesuits, or whatever the form might be. The modern world is inhabited by the dæmons of Bolsheviks and Fascists, Freemasons and Jews, Capitalists and "Junkers", "Bourgeois" and "Workers", who assume ever firmer shape and look down upon us from innumerable posters. These dæmons suffice, so long as they continue in conflict, dividing friend from enemy.

But every heaven needs a Supreme God. The amplitude of individual dæmons will shrink, and the few will fight it out, leaving one God to represent the body collective. Already in the nineteenth century the collective body was seeking its image in the face of its leader. People bore themselves *à la Napoleon*, or as Francis Joseph or Wilhelm II. In the twentieth century, as in the days of Augustus, the living image of the One Man-God seems to have become a reality. Mythological Leader figures have appeared possessed of all divine attributes, the superhuman and the holy, the omniscient and the omnipresent, the tremendous and the fascinating; they are not true individuals, but vessels capable of collecting communal energies, and by means of their somnambulant sensitivity, catching and amplifying every excitation of the collective soul.

7

Obviously the unification of apparatus and body collective will be realised within some kind of hierarchy. This framework will be

created by the National State, which is today looking for wider space and scope, and maybe tomorrow will assume a global character as " Imperium Mundi ".

The National State was the most elemental creation of the modern age, breaking the Christian unity of the West after the Renaissance. A multiplicity of States then began to pit themselves against each other politically and militarily, making claims to absolute predominance, with intervals of exhaustion, falsely termed the " European Balance ", which was set up as an ideal.

The National State was the first model for the unity of apparatus and collective body we know today, but for a time the unity remained loose, and much liberty persisted. Theoretically, the State did not dare to release itself from a higher authority, or dedicate itself wholly to the realities of this world. Even Machiavelli emphasised the precedence of religion. The State was founded " by the Grace of God ". And most citizens were at the peasant stage, and their lives were bound up with the seasonal changes. Intellectual and natural freedom were strengthened by a pluralism of social forces, which were able to develop in relative independence. Until the twentieth century, external or internal crises were brief, and the " State ", or, later, the " Nation ", promptly fell back into the pluralism of its variegated and contradictory forces.

Certainly, the National State is from the very beginning activated by the internal forces which thrust up from below, as the collective body tries to gain control of the apparatus, and downwards from above, as the apparatus endeavours to modify and subject the collective body to itself. They find expression in the concepts of parliamentarism and absolutism, which work from different directions to secure the unification of apparatus and of collective body. The play between them fills the modern European epoch, and in the course of it apparatus and collective body are growing closer together, and the structure of the National State is being condensed in the fires of wars and revolutions, which transitorily secure collective unity.

While play after the historical model continues on the political stage, developments conditioning our position today are taking place in the dark. Little is said about important modifications; they are proceeding completely out of sight, conditioned by the fact that with the increase of security man believes he finds in the National State the authority which is " from above " is beginning to fade out. The living reality of the personal God becomes an hypothesis, and the National State can, like natural science, completely reject it after setting the collective body in His place with the dictum " All Power

Proceeds from the People!" When authority goes, the freedom it conferred goes with it, for authority and freedom are as indissolubly bound together as are power and servitude.

Once the National State is firmly based on the sole reality of the material world, life is enormously reduced and every individual is encompassed by absolutism. It is only now that industrialism is beginning to conquer Natural Creation and set the apparatus of technical civilisation in its place; thus bringing man to complete dependence on the new artificial apparatus. At the same time the pluralism of social forces is being transformed. Each is beginning to claim absoluteness and seeking to grasp and incorporate the collective body in the National State. Thus a series of secondary States arises and the State breaks finally into two hostile camps, aligned with capitalism on the one hand, and socialism or communism on the other.

The State endeavours to maintain itself, on the strength of an authority which it no longer possesses, by mediating between the two great social camps, and in this vain endeavour makes clear to itself and others how void of authority it has become. It essays this with the might of its apparatus and grasps at dictatorship, which it justifies by the famous plea of Donoso Cortez:

> "It is a question not of a choice between freedom and dictatorship, but of a choice between the dictatorship of destruction and the dictatorship of government. I plump for the dictatorship of government, because it is not so oppressive or damaging. It is furthermore a question of choosing between dictatorship from below and dictatorship from above. I choose the latter because it comes from cleaner and brighter regions. And finally, it is a question of choosing between the dictatorship of the dagger and the dictatorship of the sabre. I choose the sabre, because it is more honourable." [1]

But dictatorship is a force of the material world; it cannot of itself create any authority, and can therefore be displaced by any stronger material force that emerges. In order to maintain itself, the State ends by conducting the opposing forces active within it to that "ism" which served as its foundation, namely Nationalism; and, leading them into the wider span of the world, seeks to combine them together in imperialism; in order finally to cast the whole thing back into the furnace of war and revolution—this time, the World War and the World Revolution—to fuse it all together in the Total State as a new dæmonic structure in the world.

[1] Abel: *Catholic Policy in Donoso Cortez' Speeches.*

The Total State rises up suddenly out of the reality of the twentieth century, as it were out of molten metal, and dominates it. This molten spouting occurred so swiftly that human consciousness, thinking in the old categories and working with the old concepts, has not yet recovered from its surprise. A year after the end of the Second World War that Nestor of German historians, Friedrich Meinecke, said that " the age's great goal and purposive tendency is to fuse together into one the national and the socialistic movements ". [1] A glance at the world of today shows us numerous examples of this thesis. But the Total State is not only a power to fuse nationalism and socialism, but arises from total unity of apparatus and collective body. In it all the " isms " of the shell and apparatus—nationalism, industrialism, and capitalism—and the " isms " of the collective body—parliamentarism, socialism, and communism—flow together. The Total State is the final and perfected realisation of the body collective completely adapted to its circumjacent world; it thus sets the individual in the world of the magical *par excellence*.

If this State were only the chance structure of a peculiar constellation of political powers it would count as a mere episode in world history. But it arises compulsorily from post-Renaissance developments. What are the results of the Second World War? Nationalism continues to exist as it did before; industrialism stretches out more potently than before, and capitalism is mobilising its dormant reserves.

The apparatus continues to grow incessantly and irresistibly and drives the collective body into itself. The individual man has not only become utterly dependent on the apparatus, to which he has to adapt himself, into which he has to be fitted, and through which he is made into a half- or quarter-man—that is to say, into a mass-man—but he is also completely and totally dependent on the body collective, equalised, ingested, quartered, and turned into a mass-man because it is the collective body alone which gives him the chance to conquer the apparatus. So long as he is working in the apparatus—which is eight hours every day—he is taking care to see that the collective body shall be adapted to the apparatus and subjected to it. Outside of those eight hours, however, he is fighting to see that the collective body cocupies the apparatus and takes possession of it.

This condition—the normal condition of our technical civilisation—remains hidden so long as apparatus and body collective are dominated by the fiction of neutrality; that is to say, of serving everyman in the same way, of being at everybody's disposal. Wherever it reaches it, however, the crisis shatters this fiction, and totality

[1] Friedrich Meinecke: *The Road into Catastrophe.*

enters into consciousness, and is perceived as such. The fiction is destroyed when the collective body breaks with the principle of equality and seeks to found an hierarchical order.

It is the tragedy of the collective body, that having taken the place of God, it cannot escape this destiny. It made its appearance with the thesis of the equality of all men, whom it desired to bring to self-fulfilment, and it was able to maintain itself so long as it could oppose the substance of the existing authority. When that has vanished, inequality develops rankly into a new material hierarchy, with the Man-God at its head and the individual eating out his heart in servility.

In the Total State all the existing tendencies come to perfection. Now for the first time the apparatus can work at top speed, being wholly served by the collective body. Now for the first time the collective body can march as a whole and become conscious of itself, because the apparatus is entirely at its disposal. Now for the first time the same rhythms pulsate through apparatus and body collective, dominating each individual day and night.

When the totality of the apparatus reaches such a pitch that the whole existence of man is dependent on a few levers, no more is needed than to occupy the key-positions for controlling the levers, and the Total State can be brought into being. The Total State does not create a new reality. It merely takes over what is already in existence, destroying the fiction of the neutrality of the apparatus by openly submitting it to the Will to Power of an individual, or a political group, or " gang ".

What man only now perceives is that he is governed by man, who wants to correlate him with an artificial world, turning him into a finished and perfected being in accordance with its requirements. It is a matter of comparative indifference whether the levers are worked by gangsters or idealists; the Total State will still bring man into total dependence, to be totally governed by a man, and turned into a completed and perfected man in accordance with a man's definite image. The Total State is an instrument of power which requires the Man-God at the peak of its hierarchy; and this Man-God can manage the instrument only in accordance with the image of man he possesses. He must tell man who he is, what he is allowed to do, and what he must do. Howsoever the image may be fashioned, it will place mankind in the iron grip of an insupportable compulsion, based on conscious or unconscious deception. For man is unfinished and imperfect, an indeterminate being still in the course of development, directed towards an end into which his consciousness has no insight. Freedom offers the only guarantee that he has not

failed of his end. But freedom corresponds to authority; and authority's place is under God. Even concerning the greatest of human benefactors, Pascal's utterance remains valid: "Man is neither an angel nor a beast; and it is an unfortunate fact that anyone who wants to make him into an angel, makes him into a beast."

But it is not only the highly developed apparatus which is open to determined attack. The collective body which has made man its own creation is also susceptible. Modern man failed to observe what was happening to him, because from the Renaissance onwards it was the collective confirmation which bestowed upon him the cheap gift of his Ego. He was the Great Actor on the stage before the collective body, which served him as an audience; and from this pleasing fable he had deduced the fiction that he is an *individuum*, an individuality. Here also he succumbed to the belief that he could build up the world from his Ego, without suspecting that he had himself long been comprehended and built up by the collective body.

This fiction, and with it the consciousness of man, founded upon it, falls to pieces the moment the collective body withholds its confirmation from man's Ego and determines who and what he has to be. Since the Renaissance individual man has been like an actor producing himself on the bright-lit stage and borne by the spectators' applause; but he has been forced to fight ever more desperately for the applause, like an ageing star whose great moments are growing rare, and he has to adjust his grimaces and capers to the requirements of the audience in order to make a place for himself on the stage. But the moment comes (it is quite brief and inconspicuous) when a response from the public changes the playhouse into reality, reminding him who pulls the strings and upon whom he is dependent. In that moment everything becomes hard, brutal reality, which before had seemed lovely appearance. The man doffs the costume he so proudly designed, and goes to his place in the ant-heap, or the horde.

Such is the coming of the Total State, an over-night surprise. A man goes to bed the free, self-conscious Ego who has just driven the car into the garage and had his supper, and wakes up next morning an utterly different person in an utterly different world. He perceives an alien rhythm around him which envelopes him and involves him, incorporates him, polishes him to fit, and grants freedom only to such as surrender themselves to it and help to fulfil it. The web of his fiction has been rent and the reality become manifest.

And the satanical thing about the process is that only then does everything begin to make sense. For it was precisely the neutrality

of the apparatus which seemed so senseless to a man who lived by consciousness alone, and had therefore long been an empty fiction, having lost his own reality in a crowd of possibilities. For a long time in unconscious despair he had been searching the outer world for some counter-presence " opposite " which might tell him who he was and to what end he was living. And he found, both in the apparatus and the body collective, a number of " opposites " which appeared to give the needed confirmation; but their confirmation did not fill up the emptiness which he experienced in moments of pause and quiet. In the last resort the apparatus was neutral, and man had to inject it with the meaning appropriate to the particular time. There was no meaning for the whole, just because the apparatus had only a functional value. And in the last resort the collective body was also meaningless. Man could only get out of it, and receive from it as confirmation, precisely what he had put into it; and he put into it only what he knew would meet with approbation. Neutrality of the apparatus and passivity of the collective body—man's only two " opposites ", once the figure of the living God had been extinguished—made man himself into a neutral and passive being, superfluous and vexatious to himself, and seeking for a counterpart " opposite " to whom he could deliver over and surrender his existence with all its possibilities, to receive them back again as the sole reality.

In the reality of the Total State this yearning is fulfilled. The apparatus loses its neutrality and says loud and clear what it wants and what the man must do. The collective body loses its passiveness, and of its own volition confers on man the order and the cordon and aiguillettes of its authentication. The Total State does not merely take away man's own existence and fling him into the abyss of servility; it gives him a new existence, which, made secure and confirmed by apparatus and collective body, is charged with the enormous rhythm of both, and lifted right above itself. If man has an existence of his own which he must maintain and defend, in a Total State he meets with martyrdom. If he no longer has such an existence, he experiences rebirth and the intoxication of the new world, the *renovatio* and the *vita nuova*, the gift of a reality which frees him from the torturing boredom of representing nothing more than possibilities. Humanism is too weak to meet the totalitarian danger, for the Total State only grows up out of humanism's decadence; it is the final stage of its development; it is but End-Humanism itself.

The only person who can face the Total State is one whose existence is not based upon consciousness, and therefore upon the

apparatus and body collective, which is to say upon an external Opposite, but whose whole existence is conditioned and borne to God, by the inner Opposite of the soul alone. For only that man is possessed of a basis of existence independent equally of the apparatus and the collective body, and can freely voice his Yea or Nay. Totality must therefore shackle all peoples who have lost their inner Opposite and in whom the image of the Living God has lost its whole representative validity.

There may be many enemies of the Total State, but they are not dangerous if they advance against it on the ground of any " ism ", even though they suffer martyrdom within it, or meet the horror of its bombing outside. Totality, as soon as it has attained realisation anywhere, is extremely infectious. It forces its opponent willy-nilly to adopt the same means in order to hold out against it; it drags him down to its own level. Because it arises out of the unity of the apparatus and the collective body, it forces its opponent to release and set in action similar forces. It thus speeds up the general process in the direction of totality, and releases energies and passions which are totalitarian in form. Only from religion can strength be obtained to abstain from using the same means. Changing the words a little, we can say of totality what De Maitre said in his day of revolution: The opponent of totality must not be some sort of totality of an opposite kind, but someone who is himself opposed to totality. The opponent of totality can only be an individual whois based upon God; there is no other possible way of opposition.

The secret of totality consists in putting man into a great organisation where each of his steps is calculated and predetermined and each of his thoughts prescribed and fixed. In this organisation everything, past, present, and future is " included in the calculation ". The man of our late stage of civilisation who, among all the possibilities of his Ego, has long ago lost the reality of his existence, and now lacks the security of culture and the certainty of consciousness, and has thus fallen ever deeper into anguish, experiences this organisation into which the unity of apparatus and body collective have struck him, as a new world. He is secure in it; he is certain in himself; he has been relieved and liberated from anguish. It is a world in which the freedom of the void dominates.

For there are two ways in which man can live a life of liberty: that of authority and that of totality. These paths are diametrically opposed to each other, just as authority and totality themselves are. Both secure the existence of man and grant him liberty.

Under authority man receives freedom of his whole being, the realised and the unrealised, the conscious and the unconscious, all

of which he needs as he develops from what he is into a transformed self. Under totality man receives liberty only as a completed being who is taken out of his developmental process and cut off from his goal, and thus liberated from transformation: but to whom, therefore—and this is the dæmonic power of totality—completion and perfection are mirrored as present actuality. The strength of totality resides in its condensing the moment and conferring reality upon it; its weakness in man's being unable to free himself from his natural being and his destiny.

The liberty of totality is therefore the empty freedom of intoxication, to which anguish escapes. It is a freedom " from something ". And it leads man compulsorily into the reality of " Nothingness "; that is to say into despair, where his nature is reconstituted again. In the liberty of totality man desires to get away, and for that reason he ducks into the collective body; in the freedom of authority man wishes to come to himself, and therefore takes the Road to God. To experience liberty, man can go " down " or " up ", and it seems to be his destiny in late civilisations to go " down " in order to find the road " upwards " again; and to speak in contemporary terms, that revolution and religion, totality and authority, the Cæsar and the Saviour, freedom " from " and freedom " to ", are the opposite extremes, yet on another plane and in another realm they are secretly linked, and totality is thus the dark way through which man finds his way back to authority.

8

Because the " secondary " world of the magical is artificial, because its collective body is not a living organism but an organisation, and because its circumstantial world is not the creation of Nature but an artificial apparatus having no balance in itself and getting no power out of itself, it has need of an Opposite, a counterpart from which to separate itself and generate the power to maintain itself. In order to guarantee the powers which exist out of itself and the tranquillity which is based upon itself, it cannot develop in the direction of " being free *to* " such-and-such, but can delimit itself and acquire stature only by " being free *from* " such-and-such; that is to say, it can maintain itself (and this is the satanic aspect of its nature) only by means of something *negative*.

The supreme example of this is the usurpation by the collective body of the place of God, so that it began to develop in inverse proportion as the figure of the Living God faded out. Indeed, one might assume that it gained power to maintain itself out of a continuous and increasing negation of God, and that " totality " is developing from

the disintegration and destruction of authority. As, however, the " secondary " man of the magical has lost primitive man's faculty for trafficking with the invisible and intangible, recognising them only as provided by the body collective through the technical expedients of television, wireless, telephone, and what-have-you, he is quite unable to conceive of God as the Invisible and Intangible, but must see Him living and tangible in order to be able to deny Him, annihilate Him, and thus manifest his own reality.

Totalitarian man finds the visible and tangible figure of the authority he destroys in the Other Man, who is made responsible for everything evil in the world. Against the Other Man the collective bodies join and close together; against the Other Man all the powers of the apparatus are put into action. The Other Man is excluded from apparatus and body collective and handed over to be annihilated " out there ". The phenomena of banishment and outlawry and proscription are as actual today as in the magical world of the primitive.

The " Other Man " is no longer an individual human being for the body collective has no knowledge of individual men, but only of men in their collective correlation. The Other Man means the Other Race, the Other Nation, the Other Class, and the Other Tribe. The other Race is the " Yellow Peril " and the " Black Peril " and the " Red Danger " and the " Jewish Danger "; it is the " Dominance of the White Race ", it is " White Man ", the " Blond Beast ", the " Tiger Man ". The Other Nation is the peoples and States wholesale and retail, it is " Big Power Politics " or the politics of " Cabinets " and Conferences and Alliances and Pacts. The Other Class is the Capitalists and Socialists, the Communists and Fascists, the landed gentry and the *bourgeois*; the Party Member, the members of other parties. In fine, the Other Man is the vast all-against-all scrap, which would ensue should the collective body disintegrate.

The Other Man is the Guilty Party; that is, a collective body is charged with collective guilt. Whole peoples must therefore be penalised, races must be extirpated, the Fascist must be annihilated and the Bolshevik removed. For the individual man is no longer an individual man, but a member of his kraal. Once more we have tribal vengeance, with individual man footing the bill for his entire nation or race.

The Other Man first rises to his true dæmonic stature when crisis envelopes the world, for he then becomes causative. It is really the Other Man who is guilty of the crisis; and to clean everything up it is necessary to settle up with him. Here there is abso-

lutely no difference between our conception of causation and that of the primitive; we live in exactly the same kind of world where occult powers are present everywhere, and constantly in action.

Within the framework of the collective body total settling up with the Other Man means man's total settling up with his own self, while at the same time he denies and destroys himself as being what he is. He liberates energies and directs them against himself, he exerts every means of power at his command as a gigantic flail against himself. He has become a being obsessed, " that wandereth in the darkness and knowest not whither he goeth; for the darkness hath blinded his eyes ".

In the Other Man he meets himself as the Man-God which he has made out of himself; but he does not meet authority. Totality founded by the Man-God can find no other expedient for getting its own self confirmed than that of calling itself to reckoning, and thereby committing suicide.

Chapter

6

THE END OF SCIENCE

> " Scientific knowledge is a mystery apart, and those who serve it constitute an isolated priesthood, who may not have traffic with the world and who have to guard the possession of the truth. In what manner the temporal and empirical present might find its way out of its dilemma, is a matter which it leaves on one side, it is not the immediate practical business and appurtenance of philosophy."
>
> F. W. HEGEL.

I

THE individual has for a long time been unable to see the world in which he lives as a single whole. In order to have a universal picture one would need today a whole lifetime's most strenuous work. That is why any pretensions to count oneself or anybody else as being " educated " are so unfounded. The individual at best dominates nowadays his limited professional area. Beyond that he possesses a few swimmy images of the world, but they are far too vague and indefinite for any stable picture to be built from them.

None the less, he has a priesthood to foster and confirm, a picture of the world, to which he can turn at any moment. In a world based upon human consciousness science has assumed the role of the earlier priesthood, and represents today man's general and universal consciousness. So that if one wants to ascertain how things are with consciousness, one must turn to science and busy oneself with that.

And in so doing one comes up against a phenomenon which can be remarked in the world of profane actuality; science has to such an extent lost itself in detail and specialities, that it quite lacks any single clear outlook over the whole of things, any kind of universal unity. It is not possible to obtain from science today a clear, unambiguous answer to any question which can be put to it clearly and unambiguously from the sphere of profane reality.

This is not merely due to the fact that science has created its own terms and translated reality into a kind of cypher message. That must be accepted, for in the final count every worker can demand the prerequisites of his craft. It is also due to the fact that science,

split up as it is into the most diverse areas and disciplines, all of them further specialised in themselves, has no longer any dominant discipline to draw the results together and thus represent the unity of science. There simply does not exist (what man has for some time been so earnestly seeking) a book which can give an exhaustive answer to even one of his questions, or indicate that Central Information Office from which he can get the answer. While this is the result of specialising, it points also to a more important lack in which the historical destiny of science reveals itself. The levelling down of the hierarchy is manifest in the sphere of science also.

When modern man goes looking for the Central Information Office which is to register all the attainments of science, and have an abundance of certified answers to hand, he reveals his anxiety. The layman of yesteryear may indeed have believed in the existence of such a Central Information Office, but he never felt it necessary to visit it, partly because the questions did not press, but also because he had just such a centre of certainty and assurance in himself, one which he could not well describe, but which was there simply because he believed in it.

His belief in science was like his belief in his own consciousness; it was rooted in his feelings, and had religious traits. Once he had believed in God, without having seen Him. Now he believed in Science, without having seen It. Merely the content of belief had changed. When he began doubting God he demanded proofs of the existence of God. Having fallen into anguish and wretchedness, he now demands support for his faith in science. The case is more difficult. A proven God is no God at all. But proof is the only foundation for science.

"There ought," says man on his search for the Central Information Office of Science—"there ought to be something like a supreme scientific authority, supervising everything, uniting everything in itself and having full information on everything and getting reports from the specialised branches of science when anything new has happened in their department, so that one can be thoroughly in the picture all the time, and know just how things are with the world and mankind." This is a perfectly justifiable demand. Man's consciousness is the only weapon he has in his fight for existence in a threatening and constraining world. It is therefore important that it should tell him at any moment how the world is disposed and how he should behave in it. Man needs a shell, or he dissolves and loses his shape. Science has taken over the task of providing this shell. It is the consciousness of our species, and therefore has a pre-eminent position.

Turning to it today, however, man is threatened with profound disappointment. Science cannot give him the shell he seeks, for she herself is occupying it. What man is asking for and hunting for is authority, assured by the hierarchy of science; and authority and hierarchy exist as little in science as they do in our everyday world.

" But still there ought to be ", the layman on the hunt might well object, " something in the nature of a Primal Philosophy, a Queen of the Sciences, able to represent the Whole, and include it as a unity. Otherwise science would be no more than a heap of potsherds."

Science is just such a heap of potsherds. What the layman is looking for existed for so long as authority and the hierarchy in science remained; and that has not been the case for some centuries now. For the Supreme and Primal Philosophy, the Queen of the Sciences, was Metaphysics. If the layman appealed there, he got what he vainly seeks today, an answer without becoming entangled in the labyrinth of separate sciences. Metaphysics, of course, was based upon God; which is the reason why it no longer exists.

2

Science in the Western sense had as its forerunners a series of personalities who, living from the sixth century B.C. in the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, Lower Italy, and Thrace, cared to think independently about mythical or religious obligations, and to create themselves a natural explanation of the world and of life. Up to that time men's knowledge had lain in the hands of the priestly caste and was not separated from religion. The causes of the change, so important for the history of the world, are rooted in the nature of the Greek people, and in certain circumstantial matters. The weakness of Greek religion and the lack of an influential priestly caste were just as important in their effect as the merging of several individual States. The high culture of these States produced independent personalities who were liberated from man's universal and natural dependence, and freed from all other obligations, like those of profession and family. They mostly came from rich old families, but they had no national or political linkage with a home town, and on long journeys had acquainted themselves with foreign peoples and foreign knowledge.

The emergence of such personalities is possible only at the peak-point of a culture, which has freed men from universal and natural dependence, thus relieving them of anguish, without having brought them back to dependence on those liberated social forces making for the decline of every culture, and ultimately bringing about its

collapse. The possibility of freedom from all connections with State or religion, and of material independence, made secure by comparative wealth, supported the emergence of such personalities; although many of them had to fight social resistance, and some of them, indeed, fell victims to it.

The emergence of what man in the West understands as science is not so much a question of an event taking place in the realm of the intellect, and arising, as it were, in a mutation of the human species, but of certain internal conditions and outer circumstances which permitted man for a brief period to assume a particular attitude of mind, known to us today as " scientific ". It consists in man making himself independent of internal and external obligations, and depending only on his gift for observation, his experience, his knowledge, and his thought; that is, relying in effect on his consciousness alone.

Since this has been the characteristic attitude of Western science for some centuries, and since its intellectual and material effects have conquered the whole world, it seems absurd to question whether the attitude is possible or whether mankind can live with it. But the question gains a certain historical justification from the fact that the attitude lasted in Greece only a little time; and in the West it has been valid for only a few centuries, and is apparently bringing it to the great crisis of its history.

Scientific thought reaches to the limits of human consciousness in every direction, no matter how far removed those limits be. When man begins thinking scientifically he certainly extends the circle of the world around him by divesting it of mythical and religious conceptions and subjecting it to the power of his will. He thus experiences an increase in power and liberty, and this forms his being and gives it confirmation. But the power cannot give him complete independence. Consciousness encompasses at any one time only a part of the surrounding world and the dark being which is man. Beyond that, secretiveness and dependence begin once more. Man can obliterate this limit by assuming that he can remove it entirely. But that is a belief only, and therefore a contradiction of the scientific attitude.

Extrovert being that he is, man soon comes to terms with the outside world, and the settlement is based on his consciousness: which is indeed primarily a knowledge of the outside world. Only later does he perceive that something has occurred in him himself, that he has assumed a shape which is the internal result of the power and freedom he has won in the outside world. But even if his domination is extended far, and the shell in which he can enjoy his

liberty and give his strength free play embraces the wide world, and if the resulting form of his own being should afford him much security and certainty, none the less there has been no removal of the frontier beyond which dependence and secrecy begin.

For Being-Conscious is never identical with the world's Being and one's own Being; it never quite contains that whole abundance of Being, of others as well as his own, which man feels in his genuine experience, and which is delivered in immediate cognition to the spiritual force beyond his consciousness. Man can therefore never remove the barrier before him, and at times will be painfully reminded that he has been working with unknowns, which suddenly turn dæmonic and smash his form and shell, and his power and liberty with them. The intrusion may come from Nature and the Universe, the true Being of which smashes up the cyphered texts into which his consciousness had transposed them. It can also happen from within, through the total of human Being taking up arms against the strait-jacket of culture into which man's conscious will seeks to cramp it. The high points of culture, where human beings seem to have become perfectly free and independent, have been quite rare to date; brief transition periods followed by a speedy fall, when man enclosed by the shell of culture usually proves himself to be himself the Great Unknown.

Upon the high point of ancient Greek culture few thinkers dared entirely to ignore the limits and adopt that attitude which today seems to us characteristic of scientific thought. Those who did so furnished ideas upon which modern science is building, foremost among them Democritus, the first to deny a soul to Nature and the Universe and interpret them as a mechanical play of atoms. Other thinkers broke with the mythical and religious conceptions of tradition, but did not on that account move towards atheism, as we should call it today. They pushed on through thought alone to monotheism, giving place, even were it only symbolically, to mythical and religious conceptions which endeavoured to embrace the whole of the world and of humanity.

The superior discipline of science, which brought it within a unitary picture embracing the whole, was metaphysics. Metaphysics was science in so far as it collated the certified results of the separate disciplines. The results served as material for metaphysics to create a world-image, a thing individual sciences are neither in a position to sketch out nor interested in sketching out. In aggregating and interpreting the material to form a world-image, metaphysics is philosophy. But it is more than that, for it supports itself not on the scientifically certified material of consciousness alone, but has to

embrace also all that had its basis in man's aboriginal experience and bears the character of inward certainty. It accordingly takes up the mythical and religious elements of unconscious feelings and imagination, and includes these in its picture of the world. In that way it draws near to theology, and coalesces with it when theology is not stiff with dogmatism, but has its roots in vital religious experience. Metaphysics therefore bases its world-image upon a power lying beyond all conscious experience, and properly regarded as the Prime Cause and Final Ground.

Accordingly, metaphysics was reckoned " the primal philosophy " and queen of the sciences. It is described by Aristotle, who named it, as theology. So long as metaphysics was valid, the opposition between natural and scientific thought, which in our days is tearing man's life asunder, and ends by destroying every image of the world and of man, could not become so pronounced. Metaphysics kept the path " above " open, and gave man a visible, comprehensible image of the world by which to regulate himself, albeit the world-image was involved in mythical and religious elements and bore an allegorical character. The God to whom it pointed, and who constituted the supreme principle of all sciences, was the same in whom nature-man believed and to whom in immediate experience he was just as close as the peaks of science. Metaphysics thus not only guaranteed the unity of the sciences by setting them all under a common principle, but guaranteed the unity of man and of life.

Once man has freed himself from immediate dependence on the outer world around him, and experienced its workings, and taken them into consciousness, mysteriousness or dependence is concentrated on the space above him. His deepest religious and mythical conceptions are drawn up to heaven; above him he perceives the mighty living Opposite or Counterpart, which looks upon him unchanged. The space of heaven therefore becomes the sphere of the divine, the seat of God Himself, and genuine religious feeling is never to be separated from this upwards direction.

Metaphysics, as the first philosophy to have sketched out an image of the world and at the same time to have maintained alert the immediate relationship with God, has therefore been specially involved with human preoccupation in heavenly space and the stars. Astronomy, occupied with those spheres to which religious experience is directed as the seat of God, stood next to, and was directly bound up with, metaphysics. The linkage revealed itself at the emergence of Greek metaphysics in the sixth century B.C. Metaphysical thought was kindled by the eternal and unchanging movement of the stars circling high above man in space, and displaying the highest

perfection of orderliness and beauty; it created the idea of the cosmos, which became central in Greek metaphysical thought. The movements of the stars presupposed a Prime Mover to set them in action, and led to monotheism; to the figure of a God, whom Xenophanes and, after him, Anaxagoras were the first to correlate with universal reason.

Aristotle's theology perfected this idea and sketched out a metaphysical world-image which remained valid in the West for two thousand years. The round earth is situated in the centre of the world-ball. The pure and indestructible area of the ether is dominated by that most perfect of motions, the circle. The planets revolve round the earth, and are fixed to transparent spheres which rotate on their axes. Around these rotates the outside sphere of the fixed stars. The motion is eternal and returns into itself. The *Primum Mobile*, God, is conceived as being tranquil and immobile, pure energy, as Spirit and Highest Reason, counterpoised to the world.

The God of Aristotle is abstract, colourless, utterly spiritualised. He is thought concerned with itself, the "thought of thought", and as such has rationalistic and intellectual traits. It is a God residing in Himself and thinking Himself, neither desiring nor acting, the ideal of philosophers and ancient sages, and not based upon religious life and experience. It is the crowning of a world-image which in its artistic beauty and rational imprint unites in itself the main features of the Greek nature. It continued unchanged even in a subsequent age, when Greek thought passed on to other questions of ethics and specialised scientific research, to end up in Neo-Platonism with a mystical and religious content, and turn into theosophy.

The important thing about this dominant direction of Greek philosophy is that it alone on the whole journey of thought led to the supposition of a Supreme Principle and First Basis, and thus led to monotheism, albeit the figure of Deity was intellectualised. It formed the foundation of metaphysics. Corresponding to the abstract image of God, intellectual speculation predominates there, too, yet the mysteriousness and dependence conformable to the nature of man remain. The sensible purposiveness of the Universe leads thought on to the supposition of a Prime Mover, and thus adheres to the religious elements of men's nature.

Measured by the modern viewpoint of Western man this direction must be regarded as unscientific, since modern scientific thought has taken another direction of Greek speculation, whose most outstanding representative was Democritus.

Democritus, together with his compatriot Protagoras, was the most

important representative of the Sophists. To use his own words, he sought in the fullness of understanding the one thing it is worth struggling to attain. In him human consciousness asserts itself as absolute, identifies itself with Being, and liberates mankind from mystery and dependence. That being so, he had to demonstrate a world adapted to consciousness, devoid of all mythical religious and psychical forces, and susceptible of being mastered by man. To sketch such an image conditions permitting man to liberate himself entirely from any link with Nature and the Universe, and to regard them as dead objects, are necessary. Such an attitude of mind presupposes a high level of assured civilisation.

The attitude of Democritus is therefore not to be severed from his personal world. He lived in the flourishing commercial town of Abdera, in Thrace. Urban life separating man from Nature affords him security and confirms his self-consciousness; ultimately it is nothing but aggregated power. The power results from many generations and numberless individuals who have dared to take action against Nature and to tear away part of its mystery. Anyone setting himself in full enjoyment of this power experiences a confirmation of his own self-sufficiency, which deceitfully lures him beyond the limits set to his nature.

Democritus came from a well-known family; he belonged to the *élite*. Wealthy and independent, he travelled widely, and returned to his home town to lead the life of a rich independent gentleman, free to devote himself to intellectual pursuits.

For a man to be able to adopt such an attitude, conditions of very wide scope have first to be fulfilled. He must be in possession of the capital of civilisation heaped up by preceding generations, at a time before social forces have begun to dispute it. This is a brief transitional stage in the history of cultures, quite apart from the fact that up-to-date scientific epochs have been rare and quickly over.

The man must feel completely independent of Nature and the Universe in order to adopt a perfectly cool and distant attitude towards them. He must not experience natural creation in its living amplitude, but regard it as material in order to fit and subordinate it to mathematics. The necessary preconditions of pure rationalism are always the same. Human consciousness relying on itself alone can only maintain itself in a material and mechanised world, because it is only in such a world that the mathematical technique can be employed. And only upon that technique can human consciousness base itself.

Democritus shattered the Universe into innumerable corpuscles, not perceptible, not further divisible, and by him named atoms.

These atoms are imperishable and have mass. They are the tiny bricks whence Nature and the Universe are composed, without any sensual quality; structures therefore which submit without difficulty to the technique of mathematics.

For these small corpuscles to move and fall and collide and rebound, space must be empty. Thus there only exist atoms and empty space, or, as Democritus himself put it, " In truth there are atoms and the void ". Universe and Nature have been divested of their mystery by their quality being denied. Everything is movement of atoms in empty space; every activity is referred back to the contact and pressure and weight of small bodies which possess no qualities beyond thickness and hardness and weight, and thus constitute nothing save quantity. Their movement occurs under conditions of strict necessity. Chance is ruled out, and the incidence of deity is quite impossible.

This world-image has nothing to do with the living Being of Nature and the Universe as given to man in his inner experience, but Being and Being-Conscious both conceal themselves in it. Man is now confronted with a dead, material, mechanised universe, from which mystery and dependence have been removed. But it is a universe he can dominate mathematically, and in which therefore he can base himself upon his consciousness alone.

The materialism and mechanism of Democritus, which had their roots in the rationalism and intellectualism of Protagoras and the sophists, was a brief episode in the Greek world, exercising no lasting influence. It has become important only now that Western thought is copying it, and, in an historically similar situation, is making it a basis for its thought and its power. Throughout the history of Western thought, Aristotle's picture of the Universe, moved by the supreme wisdom of godhead, has been dominant.

3

In the religion of Jewry man had not been put into Nature, but into history. He lived in the hope of salvation through the appearance of the Messiah and the realisation of the Kingdom of Israel upon earth. In the figure of Jahveh he had the one ruler-god, creator of heaven and earth, who had lifted the creation up from nothing, or chaos, and stood before an " opposite " mankind as a well-intentioned and active God, guiding and punishing. Man, being made in the image of God, was Lord of Nature, not dependent on her nor subject to her, but having a direct creaturely relationship to the one living God enthroned above him.

In Christendom this God revealed himself in the flesh and form of

a servant, thus fulfilling the historic process which had been promised by God through His prophets. But the expectation which served as the first real foundation of the historical process is not thereby removed, but increased. Christ's Return, the Last Judgement, and the Resurrection of the Dead are to bring an end to all history.

Man, to whom the Christian Event was manifest, had no need to dwell on the sensible and orderly purposiveness of the universe. The new religious experience afforded him other foundations. He based his thought upon the self-certainty of inner experience, classically formulated by St. Augustine; and viewed his life within a predetermined historical course which was hastening to its end. In the enthusiasm of his pristine experience, he saw only this approaching end of history, to which he related events of the world around him or in Nature.

Christianity created Western man's image of the world, and set it not in space, but in time and history. But once the original enthusiasm and belief in the Saviour's advent had subsided, Christian thought lacked the power to create out of immediate religious experience a philosophy of its own. It was influenced by a complicated interplay of Greek philosophy and Jewish religion as forces with which it had to come to terms. It took up elements of Jewish apocalypse and eschatology, and somewhat of the Greek intellectualism and rationalism. Neither of these elements corresponds to Christ's teaching, but they served a Christianity which had to create for itself a foundation in dogma. Internal driving force and external structure were then sufficient to make its existence secure, and the strangeness of the two elements did not appear so long as Christian Faith maintained its strength and kept its proselytising power.

Neo-Platonism, which had transformed Greek thought into theology, enabled Christianity to appropriate Greek ideas. It dominated the philosophy of the Church Fathers, based on religious living and inner experience, and found its finest expression in the world-image of St. Augustine, which remained typical of Western thought for over a thousand years.

Aristotle's influence grew stronger in the development of mediæval theology. His universal world-image reached the West in the conceptions of Ptolemaus, and was taken over together with the astronomical doctrines of Ptolemaus.

Aristotle's picture of the world needed but minor changes to suit Christian conceptions. It was only necessary to put God the Father in place of the Prime Mover to have a spatial image adequate to the Christian historical image. The historic relationship between God and man, dependent on revelation and inner experience, obtained

in this way its spatial foundation, corresponding directly to immediate vision and natural feeling.

Space and Time, Nature and History constituted the basic pillars of the world-image of the Mediæval West, one of sublime unity and self-sufficiency, directly influencing our life and thought to this day. Built as it were a pyramid, a structure in which every phenomena had its place, it was an order established by God the Father, who sat enthroned above the apex of the pyramid and dominated Nature and history alike, now as a God desiring and acting, punishing and judging, now as a Spirit tranquil in Himself and based on His thoughts of thought. In this world one scheme of thought embraced the whole. Theology had become the Queen of the Sciences.

The unity and self-sufficiency of the world-image were, however, the causes of its collapse. Christianity bore the imprint of a late epoch of civilisation. Man had lost his universal and natural links, and was yearning for redemption. The Great Pan was dead and the flesh of man had become sinful. The Jewish religion in its historical framework had no need of natural and universal links. And Greek speculation knew only the sensible purposiveness and orderliness of the Universe, set in motion by a Prime Mover with intellectualistic and rationalistic traits. Both concepts reflect the attitude of late and ripe civilisations, and in this formulation Christianity was given to youthful peoples who maintained a close connection with Nature and the Universe. They received traditional Christianity at the beginning of their cultural development, with its ascetic imprint corresponding to the final stages of ripe and late cultures, united to a " total " world-image served by an admirable organisation and not lacking means of compulsion.

Every kind of asceticism, voluntary or involuntary, releases in man forces which pile up and sooner or later break out. The stronger and more primal these forces are, the more dæmonic they are in their ultimate emergence. Ascetic education carried out through an anti-natural Nature-taming form of Christianity has become of world-historic importance. It was the source of Western technical power, which dominates the world today.

The destruction of the mediæval conception of the world ensued when the natural forces of youthful peoples, tight-laced in asceticism, broke out and turned again towards Nature and the Universe. They no longer did so, however, in fear and trembling, feeling dependence and mystery, nor in complete surrender, but in an attitude corresponding to the change in their aboriginal powers wrought by ascetic education; that is to say, with an intellectual claim to dominate Nature, in which Jewish and Greek elements were united.

The flooding through of these natural forces, suppressed, stored up, and transformed by Christian asceticism, was bound to lead to a powerful revaluation of this world. What it did was to turn back Western man's energies, directed to the world Beyond, to the world temporal and spatial, thereby introducing the most violent revolution which ever took place in the history of mankind. This diversion back from the far spiritual to things material constitutes the essential phenomenon of revolution; anything else called revolution is only the result of this first change.

This switch first appeared in the historic visions of Abbot Joachim of Flora, who lived in the twelfth century and founded a philosophy of history which posited the realm of the spirit in an immediate future here below, thereby reversing all St. Augustine's metaphysics of history, directed as it was on the next world. Spatially the reversal first occurred with Nicolaus Cusanus, in the fifteenth century. It was in the Italian Renaissance that the epoch-making nature of the event was revealed, introducing the modern Europe which came to an end in 1914, and led into the crisis whose historic character is not yet known.

It is important to compare the small Italian city-states of the Renaissance with the Greek city-states of the fifth century B.C. They resemble each other almost to the extent of being interchangeable. And their citizens, though separated by two millennia, are similar. In Rome or Florence the personal life of Renaissance man was like that of the citizen of Miletus or Athens. He had become just as independent of Nature and the Universe. But the material knowledge handed down to him was clearer and surer than the Greeks could collect from Egypt and the Orient; and the internal energies motivating him were more potent and dæmonic, having been bottled up by fifteen hundred years of Christian asceticism.

These energies were not turned to the realm of Nature. At the beginning of modern Europe the Nature-philosophy which had served Greek thought still held. But a change was coming. It is a mystery of human nature that what occurs in its depths assumes universal significance. Immanence and transcendence are just as inter-related as the opposite poles in an electrical field. Only when inner experience has found its universal expression does it become an event in the intellectual realm. In the visions of Joachim of Flora and in the ideas of Nicholas of Cusa, what had happened to Western man was beginning to appear; but it only glistened obscurely, and had as yet no concrete form. The event in heaven was still lacking. It took place when Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo replaced the Aristotelian world-image handed down through Ptolemaus with the

new Copernican picture, and thus returned to the attitude and ideas of Democritus.

Space is empty and infinite. The earth is not the centre of the universe, but revolves round the sun. The stars move in accordance with eternal immutable laws, determined by the action and reaction, the attraction and repulsion of bodies. The world is a gigantic mechanical structure, functioning by reason of inherent compulsion. It is subject to the mathematical method, through which human consciousness can obtain an insight into the laws, and thus indirectly gain control of them. In all its essentials it is the teaching of Democritus which becomes the foundation for modern Europe's scientific thought, and upon this Western man has been living for three hundred years. The world-image serves as basis for the European revolution, the very phrase appearing for the first time in Copernicus' " *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* ".

When a new event has been completed in heaven, the values and forms belonging to an outmoded world-image are utterly broken up and destroyed. The metaphysic of Aristotle had remained in force, made secure through its connection with astronomy. Christian theology had been narrowly linked with it in mediæval philosophy through the Ptolemaic world-image, and by direct appropriations from Aristotle himself. The new world-image was therefore bound to lead to a shattering convulsion of the Church, and, passing beyond it, of the Christian religion, and even of belief in God, since a God possessed of volition and activity, who judged and rewarded, was within this mechanism no longer possible. God Himself was bound to the brazen laws of the Universe and deprived of His liberty. Space had become really void now, emptied of God, who had been limited to the intellectual image of a Prime Mover, then lost in absolute space and deprived of His personality, till finally He entirely vanished, because, in Laplace's words, He was no longer needed as an hypothesis.

This new world-image, the foundations of which were securely laid in the eighteenth century, was supported on two main pillars. First, on mechanistic Natural Science, which, with the aid of mathematics, had swiftly shot forwards from discovery to discovery and seemed about to reveal the world's last secret. Second, on history, which now appeared as an independent power and set itself beside science as a peer.

The role of history in thought is often ignored. People are not aware of its religious and mythical elements so long as they are dominated and upheld by them. Modern European history is peculiarly religious. The religious enthusiasm of Christianity

continued in it, but the goal of history was displaced from Beyond to this plane, thus making a material future alone valid for mankind. Then Jewish material Messianism, taken over by Christianity but freed now of its Christian fetters, made its influence felt. All the eschatological and chiliastic elements of Christianity and Judaism limited to a future in this material world, began to show their full force after Natural Science had voided Space and made the Upward Path quite meaningless. They afforded the concepts of " development " and " progress " by which modern Europe has been determined. " Progress " became one of the elemental terms of history and gave it that driving force into the future which, consciously or otherwise, had a chiliastic goal. " Development " was a diversion of this tendency to Natural Science, to which it thereby communicated a similar impetus, thus effecting a union between Natural Science and history by which man—enveloped from both sides, Nature and history—was seized and torn forwards.

If astronomy was the strongest prop of Aristotelian metaphysics, modern Natural Science was the strongest prop of this history-metaphysics, the mythical and religious background of which was obscured. Through its discoveries Natural Science provided the miracles of faith. The Copernican world-image alone, with its empty unending space, could not have moved men to surrender the world-image in which they had lived for thousands of years; other means were needed for that. They appeared when Natural Science displayed the wonders of the engine. It was only then that the old world-image really collapsed, and with it the belief in a God living in heaven and deciding the destinies of mankind; and only in that instant did the concepts " development " and " progress " become forces which grabbed the masses and hurled them into the future.

Science and history bore the modern world-image quite alone; other aspects of thought were dependent upon them, and could maintain themselves only so far as they succeeded in clinging on to them.

Particularly is that true of modern European philosophy. The materialism and mechanism of natural scientific thought were bound to produce an appendage of rationalism and intellectualism, they making man dependent on consciousness alone and excluding mystery and dependence.

Man, being based by the mathematical method on his consciousness alone, needed an additional philosophic foundation, and obtained it in the seventeenth century from Descartes, who transmuted the inner religious experience upon which St. Augustine had based his

thought into the self-certainty of thought. His famous slogan *Cogito ergo sum* corresponds in its significance to Protagoras' thesis that man is the measure of all things. Modern European philosophy has since then been nothing but a Consciousness-Philosophy, and has endeavoured to get from Being Conscious to Being.

4

This summary glance at the intellectual-historical development of Western man was necessary if we are to understand why Science has no Central Information Office capable of answering the questions which torture men.

The demolition of the scientific hierarchy corresponds to the descent to the Level of modern European man with all his values. It displays this general procedure in a sector—that of thought and speculation—which has been regarded as the one central area of life. Bearing in mind that the two great pillars of the modern world-image are Natural Science and History, upon which all modern thought depends, it will be sufficient to sketch the development and collapse of these two, passing over their dependants.

We have barely left the modern epoch, and suffer from an incomprehensible mass of names, ideas, and theories. It is too early to judge how much substance there is in the thought, and how much of this rationalistic speculation will prove to be mere froth; but it already appears as though the real substance of Western thought lies much farther back. A mighty hero-cult has flourished alongside the modern priesthood of science, and even today a cloud of incense seems to hover over every University Chair, conferring Grace upon its each incumbent; but it looks as though many of the Church Fathers had more stuff in them than a dozen modern professors. Be that as it may, the far-famed modern spirit has gone swiftly up the ramp of the hierarchy between the two main pillars of Natural Science and History, and as the pillars have begun to collapse, it, too, has begun to sag, and it is not yet clear how much will stand.

Until the sixteenth century, theology remained at the apex of the hierarchy. After the new Natural Science had destroyed its world-image and volatilised God into an hypothesis, the descent to the Level began; or as Nietzsche called it, the break-up of the great mediæval ice-pack.

> "We are still", he writes, "amidst the break-up of the mediæval ice-pack; the thaw has come and caused a vast and devastating movement. Berg towers over berg, all the banks

are flooded and in peril. The revolution simply cannot be avoided, and it is an atomistic revolution: but what are the smallest indivisible particles of human society?"

The descent proceeds as already portrayed on the stepped ramp of society. If the top step collapses, after having set itself up as absolute and autonomous, the next highest step replaces it and sets itself up as absolute and autonomous, only to collapse in its turn, and so on till the level is reached.

When sixteenth-century theology lost its place as supreme knowledge, seventeenth century metaphysics took its place, and an attempt was made to recreate and set up on a natural foundation that unity of life and thought, of Being and Being Conscious, which had hitherto been based on religion and made secure by theology. Man's consciousness, isolated by the materialism and mechanism of Natural Science, and liberated from mystery and dependence, seated itself on the throne of God and declared itself the supreme principle. It made scientific, mathematical, and astronomical perceptions the basis of a philosophical system; that is to say, of a new finite world-image, upon which it based itself.

The seventeenth century was the age of metaphysics and great systems, the flower and peak of European rationalism. It displayed an astonishing wealth of thinkers. Suarez and Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, Pascal, Leibnitz, and Newton—these became the "fathers" of modernity, and continued as such until yesterday in so far as the faith in human consciousness was based upon them; and still remain such today, when man, in his wretchedness and insecurity, takes his questions to science.

This great epoch of European metaphysics ended fruitlessly, without giving rise to a representative system, and led to the next highest step in the eighteenth century; when the philosophy of Enlightenment, like the Greek sophists, popularised and vulgarised the idea of the autonomy of consciousness, brought it down to the broader layers of the *bourgeoisie*, and linked it up with the reality of literary, social, and political interests. The next highest step is ever more thickly populated than its predecessor and evinces a lower intellectual level. At the beginning of philosophical Enlightenment stood the English, at its end the French Revolution.

The nineteenth century brought the next step in the scientific hierarchy to domination: that of economics and sociology, influenced by the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution in England. It found its greatest theoretician in Comte with positivism, and was popularised and politicised in the historical materialism of Marx.

As we have only just left this gradation, it may be helpful to treat of it in fuller detail.

Comte was the first thinker to see the dissolution of the hierarchy, and he takes it as his standpoint, by making it absolute and setting up his law of Three Stages, according to which human perception has first to pass through the theological stage, then the metaphysical, and finally the positive stage, which it had reached in him. The idea as such had already been grasped in ancient days and carried to its conclusion, by for example Polybius ; and it appears in modern times in the conceptions of history of Macchiavelli and later of Vico. Up to then it had been regarded under the image of a circular movement. The linear historical concept of progress as of an arrow aimed into the future gave it, in Comte's theory, an immediate relationship with the present, and therefore a political character, which was intensified in Marx's historical materialism to a pure Messianism.

It was with Comte that the historical process of the levelling down and removal of the hierarchy in science became conscious for the first time, and thus an object of human contemplation. The basis of Positivism was an historical construction leading to and justifying the process ; while seeking also to demonstrate within the social reality the working of the same brazen and immutable laws that had been set up by Natural Science. These are the two basic tendencies upon which economics and sociology have been living ever since. Positivism rested, of course, on the presumption that man is to be treated as a corpuscle or atom, a soulless bit of matter, and that the social reality must be regarded as a gigantic mechanism because the mathematical method can work only in terms of quantity. It was on this presumption that Comte foundered, he being motivated by religious and mystical ideas. The mechanical conclusion was really reached by Marxian Materialism, which at the same time turned the historical foundation into immediate Messianism.

The economico-sociological stage of science, which dominated the nineteenth-century and was supported by the real forces of society, constituted the last step of the scientific hierarchy before reaching the Level. As economics, it became the science of the Third Estate, seeking with its help to establish capitalism. As sociology it became the science of the Fourth Estate, seeking with its help to establish socialism. The social-political split runs right through the middle of it : this gives it its iridescent and fluid character, which defies any unequivocal fixation. Its method is, however, both in the capitalist and the socialistic directions, one and the same : it clamps itself closely on to Natural Science and History, and endeavours to make the essence of both serve its purpose, employing the mathe-

matical method on the one side, and the taking over of historical Messianism and its drive to the Thousand-year Empire on the other.

If this economico-social stage of thought concentrated more and more upon the Fourth Estate, it was due, among other things, to the capitalism of the Third Estate having allied itself with the rationalism and intellectualism of the preceding stages and losing its power of attraction; whereas the socialism of the Fourth Estate had, in addition to the elements of Natural Science and History, an anthropology of its own. In the figure of the worker it possessed the new man who had been created by industrialism and at the same time violated and despoiled by capitalism, who bore the character of a martyr, and consequently had no further need to prove himself a man. This anthropology propped itself up on a myth, in the same way that the economics and sociology of the nineteenth century were beginning to load themselves up more and more with mythical components and were leaving the ground of science.

It was in the Russian Revolution that sociology created its reality, which, based upon the ideas of the nineteenth century, is breaking down in the twentieth. It is breaking down through the overthrow of Natural Science and the extinction of historical Messianism, but, above all, because the mythical anthropology of socialism is breaking down. The crisis of the transition period has created so many martyrs that the worker type can no longer apply the argument to himself alone.

It is in anthropology that science has really reached the Level; the path from God to man finds its mirror-image in the path from theology to anthropology. Anthropology is the science of the twentieth century. Its forerunners were already visible in the nineteenth century; for example, in a thinker like Feuerbach, who said of himself what could be said of the whole of modern development, " My first thought was God, my second reason, my third and last is man". Far more significant and effective for the New Thought is Kierkegaard, who was satisfied with establishing the state of desperation into which man has got, and exercises a decisive influence today.

Speaking broadly, there are four great stages in the decline of science in modern times. From the theology of the sixteenth century over the metaphysics of the seventeenth, and the philosophy of the eighteenth, to the economics and sociology of the nineteenth, until finally, in the twentieth, we have reached the Level, and the whole of the hierarchy has broken down above man, who, having lost hope in anthropology, is now beginning to ask who he is and to what end he is alive.

It is the peculiarity of the process that the framework of the hierarchy remains, albeit denuded of its importance. Even today theology is still taught in the pulpit, with or without Aristotle. Metaphysics, too, have not been quite extinguished. There are enough Chairs of Philosophy, and the Economics and Sociology lecture-rooms are crowded. But such things are no longer representative of our times. Just as religion, and theology with it, became private matters, so capitalism and socialism are losing their compulsive force, their representative significance, their power of attraction. They are turning into technical methods of scientific and social life, only to be regarded under the sign of usefulness and practical efficiency. Robbed of the superstructure of their fictive legality, as also of their messianic content, they are sinking down to a neutral realm of practice and exercise. Sociology, which drew its vitality from the destruction of social theories and spoke contemptuously of ideologies, is now itself disintegrating, because it was unable to create an anthropology of its own.

So long as these two main pillars of the European world-image, Natural Science and History, remained unaffected, the movement around them was of secondary importance. When these pillars themselves crashed at the beginning of the twentieth century, modern man's world-image collapsed, and modern Europe ended with them. We are today in a world of which we possess neither a spatial nor an historic image; we are in a no-man's land, in nothingness, in chaos, and are well aware of the fact. Awareness of nothingness is the state of desperation, and desperation knows only the way of Yea or Nay, the way to God or the way to the devil.

That is our situation. But before pursuing it further, let us look a little more closely at the extinction of history and the collapse inside Natural Science, those two decisive events of the modern era.

5

The Messianic faith of Western man is fading out today, and as it grows weaker, he can study it more curiously. For he has been far from clear about the nature of the spiritual forces from which he has been drawing his life. There is an important literature of Christian Faith, the development of the Church and the emergence of its dogmata, but little has been written on the peculiar eschatological material, the very soil whereon all else was first built up. There is similarly an important literature on the history of modern times, the development of culture, and the emergence of civilisation, while on the peculiar eschatological force of the belief in progress and development, from which alone all this emerged, practically nothing has been

written. Eschatology has been the ground of both mediæval and modern man, but we have become conscious of it only as it has yielded beneath us and collapsed.

Western eschatology has been the sole work of that potent historical phenomenon, the Jewish prophets. They are unique, and are not to be explained by historical predecessors, like the Parsees, for their teaching is pure history, free of all cosmic speculation. Here is made plain the alliance between the tribal god Jahveh and his people alone in history, before which all else becomes indifferent; and from practical prophecy this God becomes the Creator of the World, Lord of all Peoples, and Leader of World-Destiny, to whom all peoples are subject. Through the bond between God and the people every external event will be related to the Plan of Redemption, upon which God and the people are engaged, and which was announced through the mouths of the prophets.

It is in the words and visions of the prophets that God has hitherto revealed Himself most clearly in the history of mankind. Holiness breaks from them directly and potently over man. It has been the world-historical destiny of the Jewish people to have this revelation fulfilled and perfected in Jesus Christ, and it is their world-historical tragedy to have linked up Messianism with immediate expectations in this material realm, after having given the world the only monotheism not gained from science and thought; the reality of the Living God and the figure of our Saviour. Had the Jewish people been able to follow their prophets along the path which led to the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth, there would have been no Jewish Problem, but Jewry, as a Chosen People, would have been dissolved among humanity and turned into a myth.

The Jewish people made a linkage with God. They passed through deep suffering, but they knew a Day of Judgement was coming, and the Kingdom of God and the dominance of Israel were to begin with the Messiah's appearance. History draws its dynamic force solely from religious energies, which luxuriate on the pregnant soil of eschatology and apocalypse.

The appearance of the Christ had no influence on Jewish Messianism and expectation of salvation, except to increase and concentrate them as Christian communities formed. These communities, however, also took over the eschatology, the chiliasm, and the apocalyptic doctrine. The Saviour had appeared in the form of a humble person and been crucified. He had risen from the dead, ascended to heaven, sitting on the right hand of God, from whence He should come to judge the quick and the dead. The Second Advent of the Christ, the Last Judgement, the Resurrection of the

Dead, and the Kingdom of God had been promised. Christ constituted the middle of history, the end being yet to come. The eschatological is one of the concepts of Christianity. Another side has concentrated more on what might be termed the "human aspect" of salvation; the Forgiveness of Sins, Faith, the fulfilment of our Saviour's commands, as most forcibly expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, Immortality, and the Eternal Life awaiting each man after death.

These two elements are indissolubly bound up with each other in Christianity, but the main weight of Faith may rest now on the first appearing of the Saviour, now on the imminently expected Second Advent, now on the Personal Counterpart or "Opposite", now on the historical-future tense.

> "The dual concepts of Christianity", writes Harnack, "dominate the whole Evangelical story down to present days. Eschatological considerations are strongly suppressed, but keep breaking through and continue to protect spiritual values against the worldlings by whom they are threatened. But the very fact that these two concepts are capable of being adapted to each other until in complete harmony, while on the other hand it is possible to make them quite antithetical, has complicated to an extraordinary extent the history of their dogmatic development. The antithesis arises because from the former concept, which in some way or other admits the fact of salvation as a present-day possession, one can postulate as an ultimate consequence a life eternal in the sense of immortality, but not an earthly Kingdom of Glory on the part of Christ; whereas, on the contrary, this eschatological concept must have for its consequence the devaluation of any property one may possess in the present conditions of life."

The first centuries of Christian development display a general slackening of enthusiasm and of the eschatological element. Christian dogmatics arise from the spiritual and not from the eschatological way of looking at things. It was Greek thought which, by its static attitude and its universal tradition, cut across Jewish Messianism and, in particular in the works of the Greek Church Fathers, strengthened two phenomena which have set the form of Eastern Christendom: the meditative mysticism of the monk and the inclusion of Nature in the Transfiguration and the Resurrection; and these have maintained themselves to this day in Russian Christendom in the form of the *startsy* and the Easter festival. Mysticism and monasticism have kept their place in Christendom through the

Greek element; they are the diametrical opposite to eschatology, to Messianism, to Chiliasm, and apocalyptic doctrine, because they aim at direct sympathetic participation in God, the *unio mystica* and the *fruitio Dei*. It is from the interlocking and interplay and interstrife of these two elements that the history of Christianity has been determined until this day; and in modern Europe the religious forces stored up through mysticism have led straight to a Messianism which was completely translated into worldly terms, and looked to find salvation in the material world.

This was due to Western Christendom being permeated with eschatology to a far greater extent than Eastern Christendom. Christianity in the East, a refuge from the world, identified with the Christian State, void of history, and limited to cults and asceticism, has been devastated, but would appear to have retained a purer and stronger religious faith, which has a great task reserved for it.

The reasons for the greater influence of eschatology in Western Christianity are numerous. They are to be sought in the Romish attitude of will-power and dominance, inherited in the fixed edifice of theocracy and in ecclesiastical orthodoxy—the former founded by St. Augustine, the latter by Tertullian—and in the character of the peoples to whom the Christian message was brought. While the Countries of the Morning, in the East, placed the God-Man and deification as the central point of their thought, the Evening or Western God retained the stern Old Testament features of the judge who maintains the Law and tests men's works. The former tends in the apocalyptic direction, the latter in the chiliastic; the former looks to the end of all history and the Last Judgement, the latter to the Thousand Years' Realm of Messianism.

The prophetic concention of history running towards a fixed aim, a consummation, was in Christianity linked with certain abstract and already purely historical ideas, and led to a doctrine of historical ages. Two conceptions were linked up in the writing of the Fathers of the Church, like Eusebius and Hieronymus: that of the Four Realms of the World, and that of the Six Ages of the World. Four world-empires—Assiria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome—had to come before the end of history was reached. Or six world-ages must follow each other down to the end of history. No doubt existed but that the world was in the fourth world-empire and the sixth world-age, and that the end was near. This idea was the very foundation of Western Christianity, and gave it an intensity directed to the end and as it were rushing into the future, now into fear and trembling before the Last Judgement, now towards the consolation of the Thousand Years' Realm; from apocalypse to Messianism and

on to Chiliasm and back again. It is the peculiarity of Western mankind to be conditioned, not by the past or the present, but by the future. And the future alternates between the catastrophe of World's End, and the Glory of the Realm to Come and the New Life. Thus emerges a human being who is pressed up and down in the destiny-room of history, and is drawn on as by a magnet towards Things to Come.

These basic elements of Western man rest upon strong and mythical forces in the depth of his being, eluding conscious apprehension, and for that very reason possessing mysterious effectiveness. They make a final breach with that unhistoried existence of man in Nature, which developed into a vicious circle in Indian, Greek, and also German thought. They place man in the midst of unique and directed events, having a beginning and an end, and give him an intensity which makes of him a new human type. But in waiting for What Is To Come two different attitudes towards history are formed, according to the source and direction whence What Is To Come is expected. These two attitudes can be conveniently distinguished as the Flat-surface Attitude and the Line Attitude.

In the Flat-surface Attitude man waits for coming things to break in from above. They strike him vertically out of Space, in respect of which Time is a matter of indifference, being restrained by the pressure of Eternity bearing down upon it. This is the attitude of immediate religious life and mystical rapture, where Time becomes dissolved. Since this attitude depends on the experience of the individual soul, it is seldom to be found in an historical-collective form. It dominated Christianity in the earliest times; it provided the basis for St. Augustine's works, and it is, of course, the attitude of the mystic. For a great historian of the nineteenth century to recognise it, is a sign that he is himself directly moved by religion. "Every epoch", said Ranke, "contacts God directly."

In the Line Attitude, Space and Eternity retire into the background, and the vertical vanishes. Expectation no longer looks upwards, but forward. What is awaited comes upon man from ahead, or he is driven to meet it. This linear attitude towards history always presupposes an abatement of immediate religious experience and of the mystical rapture. Time, no longer restrained by eternity, appears as an independent autonomous power, and man views it in the image of a stream hastening towards its end, by which he himself is borne on. The linear attitude does not characterise the religious but the conscious man, who has set himself in Time, locked off from Space and the Soul; for Time is the directed motion of conscious life.

So long as man is strained vertically in immediate religious rapture, his expectation directed upwards, history will become for him a process which begins with God and has to end up with God. History in the material world derives significance only from its beginning in the non-material world and its approaching end there. It therefore becomes relative. Such is the conception of history of the earliest Christians, of the Church Fathers, of the "God-State" of St. Augustine, and of the whole of the Middle Ages. Faced with this attitude, Chiliasm loses its special grace and force. Pristine Christianity was able to seize upon the whole religious substance of the prophets, including the eschatological and apocalyptic elements, without falling into Chiliasm. Its attitude was that of the plane surface. Religious enthusiasm was strained vertically, and that which was to come would break in from above, and not from in front. Time had been dismissed by Eternity, not as an abstract concept, but as reality for those in communion with it.

When this immediate religious rapture declines, expectation slowly moves from above forwards, and the plane-surface narrows on which man stands, and forms into a line and becomes a directed flow. The process can be represented by a large indicator pointing vertically upwards, and then bending forwards on its fixed axis and pointing into the distance. Time, which is one of the categories of Space, then replaces Eternity. And this is the moment when history loses its relative significance, grows absolute, and turns into an autonomous power. Chiliasm and Messianism exert their full dynamic force.

Western man, historically determined by Christianity, lives then in expectation of what is to come. He may expect it from above or from ahead, and can await it optimistically as the Kingdom of God and the Thousand Years of Peace, or pessimistically as the Last Judgement and destruction. Each historical epoch displays these attitudes opposed and multifariously contrasted. But every epoch is conditioned by a collective representative attitude, which gives it its especial character.

The Middle Ages stand under the sign of the vertical, to which the cathedrals bear witness. Mediævalism is pessimistic, dominated by the expectation of the End of the World and the Judgement, with all its horrors. Its eschatology is apocalyptic, while the gay message of the coming Kingdom of God recedes into the background. The Church-Dominant of the Law, soon getting into conflict with Cæsar and struggling for absolute theocracy and Papal Cæsarism, stood nearer to the Judging and Punishing God of the Last Judgement.

The mystical enthusiasm of monasticism persisted beside this gloom,

but it was to have the religious streams it released turned to temporal power by the Church; and, ultimately, it increased the Cæsarism of the Popes. Because Church organisation established its claim to dominance, every kind of asceticism turned to power rather than to spirit.

Yet apocalyptic expectation in the Middle Ages was already showing indications of the line attitude. A date fixed for the end of the world must be revised, and from A.D. 1000 new dates were repeatedly given. Even Luther believed the world would end in 1560. Here religious expectation is being transferred from height to distance, from above—forwards, with a weakening of Eternity and an uprating of Time. These prophesyings find soil already prepared, loosened by harsh circumstance, and they lead to great movements of repentance and flagellation—in Italy about the middle of the thirteenth century, in Germany after the "Black Death" and around the mid-fourteenth century. But these movements did not renew the religious substance, but ended in deception, deflation, and a material view of life.

Into the expectation protended towards world's end, the Abbot Joachim of Flora suddenly brings a new chiliastic element, which had been troubling men's spirits from the thirteenth century; and with a mighty tug, as it were, tears down the white curtain labelled World's End Long Awaited, and reveals behind it a "Third Realm" of blessed peace and liberation from all troubles and pains in the future. We cannot over-value the effects of this monk, for his writings contain the essence of the ideas and movements which were to fill the next seven hundred years, however widely they differed in vesture and aim.

The visions of Joachim of Flora contain fantastications, but genuine historical revelations also. It is as though in him past and future millennia were concentrated into a living present. The linear historic thought of modern Europe has given little heed to him, for his super-eminent figure can be appreciated only by a conception of history which is related to the vertical, and knows that the past is not dead and gone, but stored deep in the human soul. The individual must sink down deep within himself to bring the past millennia into the present, when not only the past but also the future is illuminated also. It is because this kind of inner abstraction has gone out of fashion in modern historic thought that we have no more revelations and visions, but only annual statistics and dry facts which we dispose around us like a chaotic rubbish-heap.

In the writing of Joachim of Flora the substance of the old Chiliasm suddenly erupts from the Western soul, displaying all the Jewish

and Christian elements, world doctrines, Cabbalistical numerology, mysticism, Sabellian, and Montanist ideas, which Chiliasm has assumed. But all of them now seem formed and modified to an historical picture which displays itself directly to our Calabrian abbot. The determinative elements of the picture comprise a turning from the mystical Beyond to the materialist Here and Now, from the Vertical to the Horizontal, from Height to Distance, all of them making history an autonomous power hurrying away in unitary flow, and related to the future.

Joachim divides history into three great epochs: that of the Father, from Adam to the Christ; that of the Son, lasting from the Christ to himself in the year 1260; and that of the Holy Ghost, going on till the end of the world, and manifesting within it the Thousand Years' Realm. The apocalyptic and distant pessimism of the Middle Ages switches round to that chiliastic immediate and practical optimism which has created the dynamics of modern Europe.

The scheme introduces Christian faith in practical worldly terms and confers on history that autonomous religious significance which possessed it until yesterday. Christ no longer means the end of mundane history, for the Age of the Son is to be followed by the new Third Age, of the Holy Ghost. The Age of the Father originated in the Old Testament, that of the Son in the New, continued in the words and writings of the Holy Fathers; the coming Age of the Spirit will not need books, but simply have to walk directly in the truth of Grace.

Christ and the Church are losing their absolute significance. Time has not come to fulfilment with the manifestation of the Christ; merely a new age begins, and progresses on similar lines to the last.

The Third Age which is coming will bring completion to the whole history. It is the joyous Last Days, the great Easter Festival which is to free the world from all troubles and bring blessed peace. There will be a *dux novus*, a new leader, a universal Pope of the New Jerusalem, who will renew the Christian religion and establish complete well-being on earth. Perfectio, Contemplatio, Libertas, and Spiritus are the four thoughts by which his visions are conditioned.

The sense of this whole historical process is perfecting, a continuous development from stage to stage, until finally it debouches into the state of general perfection. Man as *homo spiritualis* will slough off the bad qualities of the preceding epochs and be a new man.

A powerful dynamic for the future and a mighty material and worldly optimism lie in Joachim's prophecies, which mobilise the whole chiliastic heritage of the West and bring it into a system which to this day has not lost its strength, but is still influencing the depths of the Western soul. With the concept of rebirth and renewal the prevailing apocalyptic pessimism which could appeal only for conversion and repentance was turned into joyful expectation; at a touch of the wand up rise all those concepts of the Vulgate such as *renasci regeneratio*, *novavita*, *renovari* and *reformari*, as living ideas viable for the future, and as real forces taking their historically creative way through the reality of the West.

Their immediate result was to sharpen the existing political tendencies, as Utopianism tends to do. The fight between Emperor and Pope was interpreted in futurist terms. The Imperial party of the Ghibellines saw in the Emperor the awaited *dux novus*, the Guelf party saw him in the Pope. The intellectual unrest of the time, which broke into expression in the Franciscans and in the movements of the Amalricans, the Beghards, the Fraticelli, and Brothers and Sisters of the Emancipated Spirit, made use of Joachim's ideas, which fertilised religious-social and anarchist-revolutionary tendencies; which were also influenced by the Hussite, the Minorites, and the Anabaptists, as was clearly shown in the works of Dante and in the person of Cola di Rienzo. No inclusive history of all these phenomena on the brink of the modern era has yet been written. Until now bourgeois history has concentrated on the Italian Renaissance, which was the turning-point of ideas.

With religious expectation directed upon a better and more beautiful future, the phenomenon of history began to be a substitute religion, and the idea of progress finally included the whole of society, though it took half a millennium before it was set in action on a broad front and embraced the masses. It did so in the French Declaration of the eighteenth century, found its completion in the enthusiasm of the nineteenth century, and broke down in the West in the early part of the twentieth.

The connection between the Chiliasm of the thirteenth century and the social optimism of the eighteenth suggests that revelation and vision at the beginning of an historical epoch may prophetically see the future spread out, whereas consciousness of the inner forces at work comes only at the end; or, as Hegel expresses it, Minerva's Owl only begins its flight in the gloaming.

The passage of immediate experience to clear perception, in the course of a great historical culture, is not only enormously impeded by the new experience coming up against fierce resistance from the

old cultural forms, but is further slowed down by the massed social forces which participate in it. The social forces are grasped one after the other by the new experience and reconstructed, and each of them endeavours to give its own representative form of perception, until perception is so ground and polished that it is easily accepted and understood by the masses.

And finally the inner workings of such a large historical process, which always begins and ends from below, become transparent. For it is the lowest social strata which is most strongly moved and captivated by the immediate prophetical visions of a Joachim of Flora. All the great popular movements of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries are chiliastically excited and are as it were obsessed by the elements which have torn free their historical origins and come up to the surface. This living heritage, once again present in immediate experience, goes its way from below into the upper strata, where it is sufficiently worked upon by logical thought to find conscious form, and thus pass from experience to perception, and is then simplified enough for the lower strata to be able to grasp it and accept it. History is therefore that path from immediate mythical experience to conscious perception, from the myth to the idea, which is bound up with Time; it is the process of living through experience and on to perception or recognition which goes on simultaneously in both internal and external worlds of an individual man, of a people and of a complete culture.

The reason why history as the dynamic force of material optimism grew conscious so late is this. In the supreme area of Pure Thought, where an individual finds himself alone in his intellectual freedom, history as a collective force loses its Time-bound specific gravity and decreased speed. Centuries are contracted to years on the soil of one individual existence. The high-bred hierarchical thought of the Middle Ages had long since risen in the course of its speculations to a height at which God might be sought; and it was so convinced of its own power that it believed itself able to demonstrate and define God's existence and nature. God, that is to say, had become an object of human consciousness, and at so great a height of speculation it needed but the tiniest screw to thought to prove that God does not exist.

It was when thought had reached this height of certainty that the universal perceptions of a mathematically based science reduced the divine existence to a mere hypothesis, thereby laying the foundation for the autonomy of human consciousness. Absolute rationalism had no other basis for its assurance that it was capable of creating the world immediately out of itself, and was not dependent on history.

The great metaphysicians of the seventeenth century, from Bacon to Leibnitz, are still at the top of the vertical line, backed up by natural science, but with pale rudiments of religion as an emergency guarantee, ready to create out of themselves the new absolute image which found its form in a system or a Utopia. Their material and worldly optimism still bore the imprint of the hierarchy in which they occupied the upper heights; their selfconsciousness was so strongly marked that it looked dictatorial from top to bottom; but they themselves were unhistoric. They created all those concepts, from the " Kingdom of Man " and Bacon's dictum that knowledge is power, through Descartes' autonomy of reason to Leibnitz' theory of perfectibility, which were to attain immediate importance only when they united the French Declaration of the eighteenth century with the Chiliasm of a history conditioned by " progress " and " development ".

The middle and end of the seventeenth century brought the great setback in Europe which ended in weariness and reaction. The movement from below had gone to the upper steps of the ramp of the hierarchy, and become imprisoned in the shells of authority created by the Church of the Counter-Reformation and the Absolute State. In the assault from below the Church had lost its predominant position, but along with the Absolute State it built itself a new centre of authority, which was to be assaulted by the next lowest social stratum, the *bourgeoisie*. And it was in the *bourgeoisie* that Chiliasm found its historical foundation and elevated history into an autonomous religious force.

Already in Leibnitz' philosophy the thought of a constant progressive development in the world had arisen, though he leant more on the old ideas of developmental unfolding, and there was no question yet of pure evolution. He bridged the way to the absolute " Progress "-optimism of the eighteenth century which, conditioned by the gross material expectations of the French *bourgeoisie*, vaguely supported by Voltaire, and decidedly supported by Turgot and Condorcet in its modern superficiality, formed the revolutionary Chiliasm of the Third Estate. Experience of the Revolution, which consecrated a statue to the Goddess of Reason, but displayed human unreason before the world, smashed the absolutism of reason; and sociology created the narrow bond between Natural Science and History, the two dominant forces of nineteenth century modernity. Chiliasm was then mobilising the broad masses, to whom history delivered the dogma of progress, and natural science the wonders, as they stormed on towards the Thousand Years' Realm.

The nineteenth century was the time of fulfilment, when all the

elements conditioning modern Europe were united. The religious substance of eschatology, Messianism and Chiliasm, found in the concepts of progress and development a formulation acceptable and understood by all strata of society.

The flat and unscientific intellectualism of the sociological and economic thought prevailing in the nineteenth century gave these chiliastic movements an ideological framework, without being quite clear about the old religious substance by which it was itself borne. It unconsciously used words and images taken from concepts a thousand years old, and kept pointing to the material Kingdom of Glory to Come. The chiliastic faith reached its apogee, whether in nationalistic, capitalistic, or socialistic guise, after crisis and catastrophe had darkened human consciousness, and obscure historical elements stored in the depths of man's soul were able to exert their force relatively free from control. Thus the elements of the "Third Empire", the "Thousand Years' Realm", the "*Dux novus*", of rebirth and the new life which have dominated all modern revolutions (for they have all wanted to begin with the Year One and start a new calendar) have at last been able to come right out in the daylight, and awaken a resounding echo in the souls of men. Chiliasm sent its substance up to the surface, came nakedly into view, and as it were in one last burst hurled itself into the realm of reality.

For the substance of Chiliasm has been exhausted. The same old pictures are being thrown by man's expectation on to the screen of the future, but the strength of Chiliasm is beginning to fade. It has been unable to replace the Christian calendar; the Year One, set up by sundry separate revolutions, has always sunk back again into the ancient reckonings of Time. This inner exhaustion is shown, among other ways, by the goal of the Promised Glory being measured in brief terms, the Leader having to content himself with Five- or Four-Year Plans because men's reserve of hopeful expectation is getting low.

The crisis which has grown up into a catastrophe on the world-historical scale has brought the end of modern times and the extinction of Chiliasm in the West. The case is different with the pessimistic apocalypse which dominated the Middle Ages. It was by no means extinguished afterwards, although it ceased to be representative. It developed parallel with Chiliasm, the latter thrusting upwards from below and flattening out the hierarchy. Pessimism, starting from the peak of the hierarchy, and becoming acclimatised at various levels as they were threatened, began to radiate downwards and outwards. Optimism links itself in each case with the lower strata and is given security by natural science, while pessimism links

itself with the upper social strata and bases itself on religious and intellectual values, although it is continuously being assailed and weakened by natural science.

This parallel movement becomes quite clear in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, until the increase in Chiliasm arising from natural science widened the opposition between them. Both then became more radical, so that finally future blessedness in this world and the Realm Beyond stand sharply opposed, and led to the rupture of the twentieth century, which, through the crisis, is dividing the West between Revolution and Religion.

This form of opposition is not new. It was felt in the Italian Renaissance, whose wild and too materialistic impulses ended in darkness and despair. The humanism of the Renaissance certainly broke away from the eschatology of Christian pessimism and laid emphasis on the new good times to come, but as things developed there grew among the upper and more intelligent classes a sense of deception, and the original optimism began to change to a consciousness of decline. In Machiavelli, who takes up the old circuit-theory of history, optimism and pessimism break even in the scales, and are both as it were neutralised in rationalism. Humanistic thought depicted the Middle Ages in the dark colours of decline, retained by humanism to this day. Appended to the circuit theory, however, we already find consciousness breaking through with Vasari, to maintain itself even in an epoch of regression and decline, and it subsequently gained ground and was supported by men of letters and artists. But natural scientists and technicians were beginning to harvest the first fruits of the mathematico-scientific method, and optimism seemed firmly based.

Optimism continued in the great seventeenth-century systems, in which the foundations of pure rationalism were laid. The pure-reason-born statistics of these systems coincided with State absolutism, which, as a successor to the Church, and in conjunction with the ecclesiastical and feudal forces, created a new centre of authority. This was the era of the Baroque, which attempted to build itself a form out of the heterogeneous elements of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and was strained nearly to bursting by the two extremes. Baroque was the first attempt at a restoration, already bearing in it the germ of its own decline, and perfectly well aware of the fact; for it was highly sensitive and had a keen scent for the past, for decline, for decadence, and death.

The upper strata perceived the collapse in values and the decline in taste. Natural science and rationalism, both fruits of the mathematical method, thrust themselves violently into the foreground;

but the social strata to whom the heritage of the Middle Ages had fallen, and who found themselves as the next-highest gradation of the hierarchy, perceived the emptiness of the intellectual-artistic culture and the slackening of religious and ethical energies, and interpreted them as signs of the decline of culture generally.

This belief was illuminated by the collapse of the Roman Empire, of which people became conscious only after the Church had ceased to be regarded as a continuation of Rome; that is to say, after the historical theory of the Four World Monarchies had been replaced by the new scheme of humanism. It was then that the Roman Empire really vanished, and modern Europe's historic sense was faced with fact as a burden on its own culture. Every subsequent epoch has mirrored itself in the collapse of the Roman Empire, and each one has emphasised just those causes for the collapse which it believed it found in itself.

Whereas the seventeenth century was occupied from Bacon to Boileau with the question whether modern times constituted an advance or a regression in relation to antiquity—a discussion in which the concepts of progress and decadence obtained their characteristic imprint—towards the end of the seventeenth century Bossuet's *Handbook of History for the Dauphin* dealt for the first time with Rome on a large scale. Fifty years later Montesquieu published his *Considerations of the Causes of the Grandeur of the Romans and their Decadence*, through which the decline of Rome and the concept of decadence entered Europe's consciousness, and ten years later Rousseau published his first prize composition, the whole theme of which was the opposition between Nature and Culture. Its influence continued well into the nineteenth century.

The Soisson Academy asked what the arts and sciences had contributed to an improvement in morals. Rousseau answered flatly that they had only led to the corruption and and decadence of man's natural being. Through art and science and the luxuriousness of culture, man has become a spoiled animal; his simple natural habits have been displaced. His hope is in leaving the field of culture and finding his way back to nature. With Rousseau apocalyptic thought broke with enormous force over modern optimism. He founded a critique of culture which has been steadily waxing, and appeared in the nineteenth century on a broad front.

The immediate effects of this critique were of a different kind. Rousseau smashed the hierarchical basis of the leading social forces, and destroyed what values they still possessed, by scourging them as corrupt and rotten. By so doing he gave to the next highest gradation, the Third Estate, the ideas and concepts which flared in the

Revolution and carried the broad masses of the citizenry to power. The Third Estate experienced its renaissance in the Revolution. It contained in a vital and effective form the elements of natural science and rationalism, which had been popularised by the Enlightenment. The irruption of the Third Estate released the energies which streamed into the nineteenth century and made it the great era of progress.

The racket of the nineteenth century drowned the voices expressing dark forebodings of decline and destruction, but now that we are some distance removed from the period, we see with astonishment that there were no thinkers of any importance who were not tormented by dark apprehensions of collapse and impending catastrophe. While chiliasm filled the broad masses of the Third and Fourth Estates, pessimism, conditioned by the intellect and radiating downwards, grew stronger and stronger, and towards the close of the century assumed prophetic form. Once again, however, it was contradicted by natural science, expanding the scope of its technical wonders, and thus killing all objection. Apocalyptic eschatology therefore grows in the dark; it becomes a sort of underground movement, and individual thinkers only express their apprehensions hesitantly as writers or in their professional capacity; they express them more readily in conversation, or entrust them to the discretion of letters and the secrecy of the diary, whispering them to each other as it were softly and constrainedly.

> "People will be cleverer and more penetrating," says Goethe, "but not better, not happier, not more energetic. I see the time coming when God has no more pleasure in them but has to smash everything up to make a new creation."
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> "And now we look ahead and see, unless God gives us a miracle, destruction facing us," wrote Niebuhr in 1830, "as the world of Rome experienced it in the middle of the third century of our era; we see the destruction of wealth, freedom, and of education and science."

Ranke amplified him ten years later:

> "In earlier days great convictions were general, and on the ground of them people went on with their efforts. Nowadays everything is so to speak 'Pronunciamento' and slogan and that's an end of it. Nothing is pushed through to an end, everything fades out. Anyone who does get on with it is speaking with the voice of a particular Party and finds in it all his support."

> "One fine day the frightful capitalism from above and the covetous urge from below will meet like two express-trains on a single track and then what a smash there'll be," says Burckhardt. "It has long been perfectly clear to me that the world is being made to choose between complete democracy and absolute and utterly unjustified despotism, whereof the latter can no longer be exercised by reigning dynasties—for these have become too soft—but by military commandants posing as republicans."

Nietzsche becomes an apocalyptic voice of decadence.

> "What has occupied me the most deeply is in fact the problem of decadence," he said of himself. "Our whole European culture has for a long time been moving with a torturing tension which increases from decade to decade, and must end in a catastrophe. What I am telling you is the history of the next two centuries. I am describing what is going to happen, and what can only happen in one form: the emergence of nihilism."

Spengler expands this line.

Eschatological pessimism was at its strongest at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was aroused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. It became a general movement with the decadent voices of the *fin de siècle*, over which the shadow of coming catastrophe was already lying. In both cases, as in the eighteenth century, it originated in France. It was introduced by French romanticism and the traditionalism of Châteaubriand, de Maistre, de Bonald, and the youthful Lamenais. It influenced German romanticism and created the intellectual basis for the attempted restoration of the Holy Alliance—but, like the latter, was dispersed by forces from below. Sociology and economics, which were linked with history and natural science, strengthened materialism and assisted positivism. The decadence of the *fin de siècle* also comes from France, where it began to make its voice heard by the middle of the century. After the war of 1870 it became open and insistent.

But after Rousseau turned eschatological pessimism into a critique of culture, it occupied the leading spirits in all European countries, and reached its peak in the great Russian historico-philosophical and literary works, with their frank renunciation of Western values. Thus Chiliasm was strengthened by the wonders of technique and encouraged by the political promises of nationalism, parliamentarism, capitalism, and socialism, but pessimism was meanwhile developing

on the heights of the European spirit, foreseeing the problems which were to become grim reality in the twentieth century.

While the Western spirit saw the catastrophe coming, however, and was clear as to some of the causes, it no longer had the strength to employ its knowledge by showing how catastrophe might be avoided. Each thinker, like other prophets, including the Jewish, began by saying " I foresee " or " I foretell ". But in every other period prediction was the base from which the prophet began his essential task of stirring the soul to awareness, leading on to conversion, repentance, and atonement. European rationalism lacked this power. One need only compare Burckhardt, Nietzsche, and Spengler with the Old Testament prophets to realise the loss. " The essential change can only come from within mankind," said Burckhardt, and again, " Things will only be changed through the actions of ascetics". That is saying a good deal, and Burckhardt is today regarded as being a religious person. But what does it really amount to ? And even these sayings are not characteristic of Burckhardt's work, but are taken at random from letters not intended for publication.

Like the chiliastically excited masses, the higher European spirit marched into catastrophe, the sole difference being its awareness of where it was going. It did so in the belief that man stood under the compulsion of immutable laws into which consciousness could indeed contrive some insight, but in which it could not intervene. In foreseeing catastrophe, pessimistic eschatology rose to the surface and emerged nakedly, like Chiliasm ; in one last mighty outburst it also hurled itself into the realm of reality and exhausted itself.

Chiliastic optimism and apocalyptic pessimism, both related to the future in this world, and both in their time having activated our modern epoch, have broken down. That shows itself most clearly in the collapse of history, a main pillar of the modern world-image.

The lineal conception of history has gone, and today we have a debris of recorded facts from which individual research picks out this bit or that, to set it in some new light, but with no idea of an edifice into which the bits can be fitted. History has no longer the strength to bear man, nor man the strength in himself to form history. Confirmation of this is to be found in the cyclical theory of history, linked with Polybius, Machiavelli, and Vico, and revived by Spengler in a heathen form, and gaining ground ever since.

It is probable that Western man, unable to endure the sudden collapse of eschatology or to achieve the inner transformation it demands, will initiate a series of Chiliastic revivals. This is the more

likely because it is only in Europe that eschatology has collapsed. Elsewhere it is still thriving, conditioning for example the dynamics of Russia and America, which in their turn reflect power back to the West. Such attempts will, however, be but the after-pangs of a great process which has come to its end, and cannot liberate new movements.

Christianity is likely to support the attempted revival of eschatology. But although eschatology can be used as a basis for theological dialectic, the dialectic lacks alluring force and vitalising spark. Man finds no renewal in it, nor does it release new enthusiasm—the important matter for today.

The extinction of eschatology creates vast problems casting Western man back to the beginnings of his history. To be deprived of history is bound to change his character, for it robs him of essential forces which have stamped his type and made him what the rest of the world recognised as a " Westerner ".

The end of eschatology means the end of expectation directed towards the future. Man thus stands before an absolute void. Such is the position of nihilism, which throughout the West has ceased to be a mere philosophic pose and has become a reality of the streets and market-places. It is an attitude of desperation. All theologies, " isms ", and programmes which not long ago possessed Messianic force hang like cobwebs over the rubble and ruins of the age.

Being deprived of history, however, does not mean having nothing to look forward to! It means that expectation, formerly directed to the future that is Far Off and Ahead, is beginning to move back into the vertical and to be directed " Upwards ". Vertical man also has something to look for and live for, but he waits for an irruption from Above. Striving to escape from the void of this material world and the despairing conspect of nothingness, he is waiting for all the things he lacks today: a new saner experience and the fullness of a new inner living, and thus for a new revelation to tell him, as the world he has himself built no longer can, who he is and to what end he is alive.

If this transformation in the depths of Western man is associated with external manifestations which lead us to assume a Decline and Fall of the West, the assumption is itself an outcome of pessimistic eschatology, and does not correspond to the truth. For in truth Western man is starting a new epoch in the history of mankind by beginning a search for inner transformation, renewal, rebirth. That is the only essential question before mankind, and it will condition the next centuries. All else is unimportant.

This brief excursion seemed necessary because Western man,

puffed up by modernity, tends to see in the end of the eschatology the end of his continent and of his existence.

Deprived of eschatology, history collapsed, and all attempts to re-erect by new structures and historico-philosophical devices are doomed to failure, since the inner substance of the history has run dry. One can, of course, take up anew the old cyclical theory and try it out as basis for a new historical philosophy. One can make a high mystery of fitting the old line-image into the circuit, making man's path like a circular treadmill which somehow leads upwards. The last conception is, indeed, being discussed a good deal just now. It does not alter the fact that history has been deprived of its dynamics.

But it is upon the connection between history and natural science that the modern world-image has been built up. Can natural science provide this ground alone, or is it equally involved in the crisis ?

6

The Aristotelian image of the universe enclosed man in space as in a room. Christianity, which took over this world-picture, directed his thought upward.

Space dominated the world-image. Aristotle's cosmology had not shaken but only modified the basis of mental images handed down for untold centuries. A heavenly dome arched over man, corresponding to his immediate vision as well as to his inner religious experience. Space surrounded man, and within it he was protected. On the far side of space there was God, " opposite " to him, looking down on to him and *into* him. Beneath the mastery of Space, Time had been caught as it were in a shell : it is of subordinate importance, for Space has the quality of eternity.

In order to bring time and history into visible evidence as an autonomous power, the picture of a closed universe had to be destroyed. This was achieved by modern science, through Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo. It is difficult to picture how stupendous was the change. Man raised himself up like Titan. He dared to make the space above him an object of his mathematico-scientific calculations and to regard it as void and infinite. Man can have no vital relationship with the void and infinity, and Space was thus deprived of its reality and taken away from mankind.

It is true that Copernicus and Kepler took their findings as a confirmation of their religious faith, although Kepler, like Pascal after him, shuddered at infinite space above him. Religious elements persisted even in the speculations about space of the Newtonian school. But Galileo had already come to terms with empty infinity

and entirely given himself over to the dynamics of motion. The vault of heaven had been burst like a bubble, and all man saw was the movement of the stars above him. The planets in their orbits whizzed at colossal speed through an infinite void. Movement in itself became an absolute phenomenon in place of the quiet stillness hitherto radiated by space, and man, too, was drawn into movement; Being had been replaced by Becoming.

Modern science completed the destruction of the cosmic shell in which man had lived for many thousands of years. It set him thus before the void of infinity; that is to say before nothingness. What then occurred in the heavens was an event of widest scope and the utmost importance. For man is spiritually unable to bear the infinity of space. The dizziness of the void seizes him. He is cast into darkness. He is therefore forced to seek a refuge, and flees from the space above him into the worldly materialistic shell of the town, the State of civilisation.

These new shells, however, are subject to the dominance of movement which, no longer enclosed by the walls of space, has suddenly become absolute. The most abstract ideas have emotional effects. If, instead of peace, man sees only movement in heaven above, he begins to subject himself to it. As the peace of space had gripped him, so now movement seized him, and from the sixteenth century onwards has been driving him round the earth's surface and into far places. To-day it expresses itself in the enthusiasm with which every new "speed record" is greeted and sets the "tempo" of our cities. It is the attempt to break by means of movement that power of space which man still continues to perceive unconsciously, and to overcome it; it is the Titanic beginning of a negation of Space, its transformation into Time; for Time, as the directed movement of conscious life, sustains the power of human consciousness.

The connection between the revolution in thought effected by Copernicus and the emergence of the modern National State may seem remote, but is in fact very close. And the worldly shells of town and State into which man fled from the void created by science, to which the shell of a technical world-civilisation was added, took up the religious energies which had become meaningless on the vertical plane. They were transformed into worldly power, and employed to realise for the first time in history the dream of World Unity, in the last stages of which we are living today.

All restraints "from Above" had vanished, and Chiliasm could express itself in an elementary fashion. Later ages will fail to understand the dynamics of our own time by drawing inferences from ideas alone, for the ideas are superficial. It is only by inves-

tigating developments deep within man that we find the key to the world-historical process.

Scientific research has had a decisive effect on modern man and has conditioned his nature in three ways. Firstly, it smashed his cosmic shell, called Space. Secondly, by interpreting Nature and the Universe in mechanistic terms, it created rationalism and established man's trust firmly in the power of his consciousness alone. And thirdly, it provided him with Miracle in the machine before which his faith capitulated. It has thus prepared the soil for the effective eschatological dynamics of Western man. The real meaning of this whole process, of which history was the inner and science the external manifestation, became clear only after both of them had become closely associated and finally fused in the nineteenth century. From then onwards Chiliasm could appear naked and unashamed because it had in natural science an ally with power to bring its Realm into realisation. After the Realm of Grace and the Realm of Nature had been abolished and mankind deprived of its shell, the road was left open for setting up the Realm of Man in the material world. Francis Bacon had already prophetically proclaimed this *regnum hominis* in the sixteenth century; the twentieth century stands on the brink of its realisation. Nationalism, the strongest shell of modern days, has been smashed in two world wars and reduced to an absurdity, and under the lead of a few World-Powers, supported by newly released natural forces, man is preparing to realise at last in a world civilisation the *regnum hominis*.

Such a shell alone seems capable of preserving man against the senselessness of empty infinity above him. This is the secret compulsion bearing down upon man, driving him with inexplicable fanaticism to make the shell of civilisation more secure and to build it higher, although it is depriving him of all his human qualities.

The crisis of the last few decades has made it abundantly clear that Western Europe will not be realising this world-civilisation. The centre of world events has moved East and West, leaving Western Europe a burnt-out continent, with its inhabitants in the midst of a deep inner crisis. Here, deprived of his eschatological forces, man has lost the enthusiasm with which he used to look into the future. He is tortured by doubt in his work which rises up from the depths of his being and fills him with anguish and despair.

Meanwhile a revolution is taking place in science, of which physicists were the pioneers. Nothing is more astonishing than the fact that it is precisely from that science which by its investigations contributed most to the modern destruction of religious faith, that voices have arisen proclaiming that research supports belief in a

Living Creator-God. While representatives of other branches of science retain an attitude of enlightened scepticism, and theology is endeavouring to maintain itself between dogmatics and dialectics, without radiating any new religious belief or mystical rapture, there is an increase in the number of great physicists who must be regarded as religious persons and proclaim themselves as such.

The revolution in physics brings the modern world-image into question. Is it still valid, or in a state of dissolution, or has it already yielded pride of place to some other world-image ?

From the utterances of the great physicists [1] it would seem that the modern world-image is undergoing profound transformation approaching dissolution, but without any new world-image being to hand. What is perfectly certain, however, is that modern physics have broken with the concept of infinity.

This development in the exact sciences began with the discovery of non-Euclidean geometry a hundred years ago. Euclid's geometry is valid in a two-dimensional plane in respect of triangles, circles, etc., and in three-dimensional space for bodies of all kinds. In a curved surface its axioms hold good only to a limited extent. On the surface of a sphere, what is valid is spherical trigonometry, a two-dimensional non-Euclidean geometry. Mathematicians have been busy with the problem of multi-dimensional vision which can be assumed and calculated. Just as a globe's surface is embedded in the tri-dimensional space we see, so it is possible to conceive of three-dimensional non-Euclidean spaces being embedded in a multi-dimensional Euclidean space. This is a pre-supposition of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. It propounds the total universe as being a non-Euclidean curved space, without boundaries, indeed, yet finite, and its spatial content calculable.

A space of that kind is conceivable but not demonstrable, since we are bound to our three-dimensional vision. A space which is unlimited, yet at the same time finite, may be suggested by the upper surface of a sphere, as it might be our own earth, the surface-total of which is finite, without reaching an edge or frontier, because a traveller keeps returning to the point from which he started. Space according to the General Theory of Relativity is vast, but it is finite. It is curved, and at the points where stars are found this curvature is

[1] Cf. the following :

Viktor von Weizsäcker : *Towards a World-Image in Terms of Physics* (1945).

Pascual Jordan : *Physics and the Secret of Organic Life* (1941).

Wilhelm Westphal : " The Limits of our Powers of Vision " (in *Die Gegerwart* = " The Present ", of October 1946).

Ernst Zimmer : *Upset in the World-Image given by Physics* (1934).

increased like bumps on a globe. The concept of the Newtonian Law of Gravitation is not valid in it. The acceleration obtained by a planet is not controlled by the force obtaining at that particular location, but by the curvature of space. The proposition that impulses are maintained by every body moving on a straight path is sound. The route, however, is no longer a curved path in a straight space but a straight path in a curved space. Not only space has become finite, so also has motion within it. The mass of a body is no longer, according to relativity, an immutable quantity; it grows ever larger at greater speeds, but speeds greater than the speed of light are impossible. Thus light constitutes the extreme limit of speed.

A similar finiteness is valid for time. From various estimates of the age of the world as known to us, all established in different ways and supported by investigations of chemical atoms, the stars, and the spiral nebulæ only first investigated in the twentieth century, we get the same result of three milliards of years. Three milliards of years ago, then, our world must have come into existence; possibly, since the whole universe is conceived as being in a state of expansion, as the result of the explosion of a gigantic aboriginal atom. We should in that case be sitting on a splinter of this aboriginal catastrophe and flying away like Baron Munchausen on his cannon-ball!

If the world has not been in existence from all eternity but had a definite beginning, then by the second main proposition of thermodynamics, it will also have death. Just as a tumbler of hot water in a cold room keeps giving out its thermic energy until the heat is evenly distributed, so it has been suggested the world will finally reach a state of equally distributed heat, and thus suffer a heat-death. The world's temporal extent would be finite and limited.

A further critique of the concept of infinity arose from mathematics, which in the middle of the nineteenth century introduced the concept of the actual infinite in the doctrine of masses. According to this critique the possibility of man counting as long as he lives may be regarded as an expression of his personal liberty, but is otherwise meaningless, because no actual infinite total exists. It thus relativises the classical differential calculus.

And finally the quantum theory has denied the infinitely small by the proposition that there can be no "effect" smaller than the "effective quantum".

Although they began from quite different presuppositions, and came into being partially independent of each other, these conclusions of modern science agree in denying the concept of infinity, and of our transition, therefore, to the finite. It is probable that they will be supported by other specialist sciences once their full sig-

nificance is felt. From one standpoint it is a matter of indifference to the individual with an average span of sixty years whether the world began its course three milliard years ago, and whether it will end some milliards of years from now. But its effect on behaviour is far from unimportant. For it was the idea of infinity which created the dynamics of modern man. With a return to the concept of finitude, man's behaviour is bound to alter. It changes from dynamic to static, and man returns from Becoming to Being.

We must bear in mind that it was the smashing of the cosmic shell which created modern man, and the void and infinity which conditioned him. Modern science claims that the new results of its thought follow logically from the work previously done, and that they do not constitute a breach with classical physics but are in fact an amplification of them. Nicolaus Cusanus and Joachim of Flora similarly claimed that they were only making use of the old authorities. Despite that a new era began with them and a new type of man was created. A new era is beginning now, for the concept of infinity was a nerve-centre of modern thought.

The crisis in modern science is, however, not limited to this field. Only as quantities did natural phenomena lend themselves to mensuration, but the researches of modern atomic physicists have yielded a result which has convulsed, and indeed destroyed, the materialism and mechanism of science. The atom is not a dead object but a motile subject, showing varying reactions in different cases, reactions only to be calculated in advance on the lines of statistical probabilities.

The procedure is all the more peculiar inasmuch as it has really been possible to discover and demonstrate the atom, which had remained an hypothesis from Democritus' day until the twentieth century. The discovery at once confirmed and contradicted the old atom-theory, inasmuch as the atom was shown to be something essentially different from what had been supposed.

According to Democritus' view, the universe is composed of numbers of indivisible and imperishable particles of matter. These particles he named atoms. All events were referred back to their motion. Every effect arose from the contact and pressure and thrust of these corpuscles. Motion is most strictly conformable to law. Modern natural science made this theory its own and based upon it the necessity of classical physics, which found their system in Newton's mechanics and remained valid for two centuries. The nineteenth century realised in detail the image of a world built up out of moving atoms.

According to Newton's theory, light, like matter, was composed of tiny corpuscles, which were emitted along straight lines like

missiles. The Dutch physicist Huyghens, a contemporary of Newton, had, however, already advanced the conflicting theory that light must be envisaged not in terms of atoms but of waves. His theory was confirmed in the nineteenth century by the researches of Young, Fresnel, and Maxwell, who demonstrated the electro-magnetic nature of light. After that physics was compelled to deal with two separate entities: matter, consisting of corpuscles, and light, consisting of waves of an electro-magnetic nature.

The twentieth century removed this dualism, but replaced it with one that was yet more mysterious. At the beginning of the century Max Planck discovered that light-rays do not follow the regular pattern of radiation assumed by classical physics. Matter sends and receives light not in small, steady doses, but only in packets or "quanta", around which the receiving or sending corpuscle reciprocally increases or diminishes. The quantum theory demanded a recession to the corpuscular conception, which thinks of light as consisting of small grains whose mass, energy, and impulse are measurable. Physics was thus facing the double nature of light, which conveys itself through space as electro-magnetic waves, whereas the impulse of rebounding or emerging light is calculable only when light is conceived of as a hail of small bodies. These small bodies—the photons—are not of a material nature, but constitute minute particles of energy.

This enigmatic double-nature of light, which appears now as corpuscles and now as waves, has been established by modern physics as being valid for matter also. Twentieth-century's physics turned to molecular, atomic, and internal-atomic phenomena and succeeded in making the structure of the atom practically visible. Atoms are composed of four different kinds of particle: the positively charged proton, negatively charged electrons, the so-called positrons, and the particles with no electrical charge, the neutrons. They possess a nucleus, where practically the whole mass of the atoms is concentrated, and round which the electrons circle like planets round a sun. The structure of the atom thus gave a picture in minimo of the sun and the planets.

Atomic physics had, however, to admit that it was only possible within limits to apply the laws of celestial mechanics to the processes of atomic movement, for the atoms rotating around the nucleus varied their behaviour the deeper they got inside the atom, thus contradicting the classical laws of mechanics. But there was no experimental way of reproducing the movement of the electron on its paths inside the atom. In this situation the double nature of light was recalled, and steps were taken to test whether matter might display

similar duality, appearing now as a corpuscle and now as a wave. The possibility was confirmed. Exactly as in the case of light, the electron had to be regarded as a corpuscle when being measured for its energies and impulses, but appeared as a wave whenever its extension in space was in question. While light and matter were thus approaching each other, the dualism between corpuscle and wave manifested itself far more enigmatically in the atom itself, the electrons revealing themselves now as corpuscles and now as waves. Modern physics are thus faced with the fact that light and matter behave as bodies in the exchange of impulses and energies, whereas their extension in time and space occurs as though they were waves. Human imaginative power boggles at the conception of a quantum of light or an electron which radiates from a centre in all directions like a wave, and which at every point of the wave and at all times is present as a corpuscle with full energy.

The wave-aspect and the particle-aspect of light and matter differ fundamentally from each other, and there exists no apparatus capable of observing them both at the same time. The physicist has the choice between observing either the one or the other aspect; when observing the particle-aspect—that is to say, when measuring the impulsion and energy of an electron—he destroys the wave-aspect, its motion in space; and vice versa. Accepted as a definite fact of modern science, this has changed the basic concepts of classic physics. Whereas physics used to believe in the existence of corpuscles possessed of a definite energy and impulse value, and therefore of velocity, without knowing what was their position and how long they would be under observation, this is no longer the case. All the magnitudes are known only inaccurately. The physicist can neither give up his corpuscle-concept nor his wave-concept, but the results of his observations lack precision, which finds expression in Heisenberg's "principle of indeterminacy". And with this the straightforward causality of macrophysics is changed within the microphysics of the atom to a purely statistical law which links together the results of different acts of observation.

The complementary qualities of the atom as wave and corpuscle, since they must lead to a new theory of perception or cognition, have consequences stretching far beyond the realm of natural science, and are capable of undermining the whole attitude we have accepted as "scientific". The assumption has been that any object of observation is lifeless; only thus is it made accessible to the mathematical method. Democritus was forced first to smash up the cosmic world and dissolve it into innumerable minute corpuscles in order to get the neutral-qualitied bricklets with which he could begin to build.

It was this materialism and mechanism which created the sharp separation between subject and object characteristic of man's consciousness, and serving as the basis for rationalism and intellectualism.

Modern physics has discovered and demonstrated that Democritus' atoms exist, and are not merely an hypothesis. But the atoms are not neutral bricklets, but mysterious structures which have demolished the mechanism which was using them.

For modern natural science the object under observation existed quite independently of the observer subjecting it to the experimental method. In microphysics, however, that is not possible, for the atomic physicist, by means of his apparatus, compels the object to manifest itself now as a wave and now as a corpuscle; that is to say, he influences it. He does not possess a fine enough apparatus for the object to be able to reveal itself as " the Thing in Itself ", but the apparatus itself influences the object. This kind of observation is therefore an active process in which observed and observer meet and come to terms with each other in such a way that the subject is not faced with an object, but with something subjective which is indeed bound through statistical legalism to a limited number of reactions, but has a possibility of itself deciding on occasions which it will choose. In the object, therefore, we are no longer dealing with something existing independently of the living perceiving and observing subject, but subject and object are beginning to merge into each other, and to create in modern physics the concept of " Empirical Reality ".

What are the bearings of this fact on the conduct of man? It shatters belief in the reality of an objective external world, and it was the latter which retroactively first made possible a belief in the reality of the subjective inner world; that is, of consciousness. Democritus' atoms made the world safe for rationalism and the belief in the power of human consciousness, which for Descartes went so far as to constitute the basis of human existence. The atoms of modern physics, however, are bound radically to change this rationalism and smash the belief in the power of human consciousness, for if subject and object threaten to coalesce into each other in the " Empirical Reality " concept, a situation is created which reminds us of the mythical and the magical preconscious world of primitive man, where everything acts reciprocally upon everything else, is related to everything else, and coalesces diffusely with everything else; and for which a kind of perception and cognition is valid, quite different from what used to be valid in modern Europe.

Or to put it another way: Our modern rationalism, established by

the mathematico-mechanical method of modern science, has, by itself and through the extension of its researches, attained the boundary beyond which the mysterious begins; it assumes magical and irrational elements such as show themselves in microphysics in the four-dimensional space-time-multiplicity amid which cosmic events play out their part.

One must remember that it was through Newtonian mechanics that the conception of a strictly law-determined course of Nature was demonstrated with mathematical clarity. The movements of the planets took place in accordance with laws which enabled events to be calculated far in advance. The condition of our planetary system as at present manifested determines aboriginally events for every ensuring moment of time. In it the idea of causality was perfectly based, and compulsory predetermination was transposed on to the whole of Nature. There was no longer room for the liberty of God as Creator nor for the liberty of man, but everything went as it were by clockwork. Man's freedom only consisted in his ability to gain some insight into these laws, and thus to set himself above them at least in consciousness. In the eighteenth century Laplace was able to declare in the boundless confidence of rationalism:

> "A spirit which for one moment knew all the forces which vitalise Nature and the reciprocal situation of all the beings whereof she consists, would necessarily be able, if all-embracive enough to subject all these data to mathematical analysis, to comprehend in the same formula the motion of the greatest of heavenly bodies and of the lightest of atoms: nothing would be uncertain for such a spirit, and future and past would lie open to his eyes."

Natural science today can no longer admit the correctness of this judgement. This is what Heisenburg says:

> "In the sharp formulation of the causal law 'If we know the present accurately, we can calculate the future,' it is not the apodosis but the premises which are false. We cannot in principle get to know the present in all determination-points. Because all experiments are subjected to the laws of quantum mechanics, it is easy to use quantum mechanics to establish the non-validity of the law of causation."

And Born says:

> "If it is in principle impossible to know all the conditions of a process, then it is vain to aver that every event has a cause."

Schrödinger says:

> "It is possible that even the most perfect observation of the total condition of the world will not permit one unequivocally to foretell future development at a given moment."

Thus natural science in the development of its researches has reached what modern man has experienced independently of science: the darkness of the mysterious. The material atom has suddenly become dæmonic. It is no longer a dead material point but an enigmatical Something, appearing now as a wave and now as a corpuscle, but actually being neither corpuscle nor wave. What does manifest itself is mysterious and not to be precisely apprehended in the formulæ and figures of mathematics. Nature has shown man only certain aspects of her reality, and human consciousness has grasped only a limited part of the world. Being and Being Conscious have never coincided, and never can coincide.

Let us remember the decisive influence which natural science has exerted on the modern world. It smashed man's cosmic shell and with the concept of infinity cleared the road for the dynamics of Chiliasm. By its materialism and mechanism it created the conditions for rationalism. And its mechanical wonders secured man's faith in it, and made possible the shell of "technical civilisation" which is today nearing its completion. It has thus created conditions which at any moment assure man that he is very much a "this-worldly" creature, established on the power of his consciousness alone.

After the changes in physics, natural science is no longer in a position to accord man this confirmation. Its new findings lead him to mystery before which consciousness becomes aware of its limitations and metaphysics rises anew. In the infinitely small he encounters something which is enigmatically alive, and in the infinitely-dimensional multiplicity of space he finds something beyond imagination.

Natural science is today withdrawing from human consciousness the confirmation which in the modern epoch it accorded. With the change in modern physics the second main pillar of modern Europe's world-image has broken down, and, like that of history, is being subjected to radical reconstruction.

7

If history is no longer in a position to tell man inside time from whence he comes, whither he goes, and the point he has reached, and if natural science is incapable of giving him a comprehensive image of

Nature and the Universe as the shell for his existence, it can be inferred that scientific thought is incapable of interpreting the crisis for him.

And indeed the general crisis has been going on for over three decades without human consciousness being able to perceive or to remove its causes. In the crisis of science we are not dealing with something transitory such as might be overcome, as in research, by increased efforts or by a more exact application of the existing methods, but we are dealing with a smashing down of all the scientific bases used hitherto, with a crisis which has embraced the very substance of science. With the extinction of eschatology, it is not historical research which has been called into question, but history itself has been deprived of the almost religious significance which it has enjoyed in modern times. With the overthrow of classical physics, the turn towards the finite, and the break with mechanistic thought, it is not scientific research which has been called into question but rationalism has been robbed of its prerequisite assumptions, for scientific mechanism constituted the basis for the rationalism of all science.

Not only are we in the midst of a crisis of science today but we have come to the end of that scientific attitude which dominated the epochs of modern Europe. The fact that consciousness of the crisis leads on to a crisis of consciousness is not true for the individual alone, it is ever truer for science itself. We can lay it down today that the scientific attitude which began to establish itself upon the Greek model at the beginning of the modern European period and which determined the achievements and successes of that historical period, was faced with a reality in face of which it gives up, and in face of which its methods prove ineffectual; and we begin to grasp that this attitude of mind has played out its role and can attain no more successes. If science be understood to mean what occurred within this epoch, then science is played out; we are at the end of it today.

While man was making himself familiar with the possibility of this fact he became aware that the collapse of scientific knowledge was no sudden incident, but the effect of a long process embracing the whole modern European epoch and bringing in its train the abolition of the scientific hierarchy. This process, which led from theology to metaphysics and on to philosophy, and thence finally down to economics and sociology, was not a conscious process to him, for the sole reason that history and natural science were upholding his belief in scientific knowledge, and because at a given moment a new, and apparently authoritative, central body of scientific knowledge was

present. For the rest this process conformed to his instinctive feeling, which believed that it was hastening to the Thousand Years' Realm and fancied itself in possession of reason. This "feeling for life" satisfied itself with the existence of science and with faith in the durability of its knowledge, without ever betaking itself to apply an acid test. Only as this feeling-for-life began to fade out, history and natural science were shattered.

When an historic epoch is over, its values and the methods by which they have been maintained suddenly vanish. So it was at the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, when the ideas and concepts of the old scholasticism grew colourless and faded out. We are experiencing a similar process today. Ideas and concepts which have filled nearly half a millennium are becoming valueless to us. The foundations of this way of thought have cardinally changed, its presuppositions are no longer conceded, and we do not know how much of the results of thought which fill our libraries will remain or what they will mean to the future. Where, however, the fading concepts are transposed into the reality of today, and people approach and seek to overcome the crisis by their methods, the senselessness of the result is patent even to the layman.

Basically, the outbreak of the acute crisis already evinced the renunciation of science, for it showed that man had not succeeded in recognising and learning to master reality. The progressive sharpening of the crisis, however, showed ever more clearly that science was not equipped to survey it with the cool independence and neutrality with which it contemplated the object under the microscope, the guinea-pig in the experiment, or the documentation of past epochs. With the crisis something else broke out, something alien which burst into the clear realm of reason; and, in face of it, all previously active and available means of defence broke down.

It is unnecessary to recall the attitude of professors during both the World Wars, or their readiness to provide the intellectual armament for each of the numerous political, economic, or social phases which developed, striving to secure their own position by so doing. There are other examples which grimly lay bare the helplessness of scientific thought in face of reality.

It is, for instance, instructive to contemplate events after the First World War, which was regarded as a sudden incident leaving the way open to an early return to normality. History therefore concerned itself with the question of war-guilt, and sought to infer from the conduct of leading statesmen and by exhaustive research into diplomatic and political documents who was responsible; an attempt not without a certain element of the fantastic, in face of the

slaughtered millions claimed by the " incident ", supposed to have been the result of definite individual errors.

A similar course was taken by economists in their attempt to interpret the crisis and to remove its cause. One still remembers how hopeless " economics " were before the phenomenon of inflation, when the enigmatic broke into the mechanism of money and destroyed it. None the less, economics some years after the end of the First World War made an attempt to interpret the causes of the crisis and remove them, by subjecting the industrial apparatus—at a time when millions were unemployed—to a mighty process of rationalisation, which deprived other millions of bread, and crippled it with loans which it was quite incapable of meeting, so that further millions were bound to lose their money. Caught in the rationalism of their thought, economics clave sternly to the legalism of their apparatus, which in a time of general poverty ultimately led to wheat being burned and coffee thrown into the sea.

Sociology was bound up with the Fourth Estate's " chiliastic " expectations, and these expectations were at first increased by the collapse of other social strata in the crisis. Whereas all other sciences had been consistently rebuffed by the progress of the crisis, sociology went on being confirmed by it so long as its prerequisites remained valid. And these prerequisites were—the existence of a homogeneous worker-class carried by a belief in its martyrdom, of being deprived of its birthright and exploited, and expecting the advent of the millennium. The crisis destroyed these expectations too. The Fourth Estate had been thought of as the lowest section of the social hierarchy, but it was still bound up with the hierarchy. The crisis, however, rolled together the broad masses of workers, black-coated included, many of whom, as its victims, were more justly termed martyrs and disinherited than the proletariat. The Fourth Estate thus dissolved like the other Estates, and lost the confirmation of its class-consciousness.

Just as grievous a burden was the extinction of the eschatology, because it was most narrowly bound up with it. Eschatology began to fade out the moment the awaited millennium was realised in a people, and was palpable before the eyes of all. This occurred in Russia. Every realisation of Utopia trails a crisis of belief behind it, because man, deprived of his expectation, comes up against disillusionment in reality. The Russian proletarian revolution has therefore no choice except to declare itself a permanency, and to expand into a world-revolution as Trotski demanded, in order to rescue the eschatology. This arose logically out of the ideology of European social thought, but did not correspond to the historical

situation of Russia, which had not so much experienced a proletarian revolution as a Renaissance, and in which accordingly the reality of the National State showed itself stronger than the historical Messianism of a single class.

The Russian reality began the great crisis of the eschatology of the Fourth Estate, which spread and took from socialism the inner dynamic which hitherto had characterised it. Despite this, sociology clings like economics to the fictions of its destroyed social and historical image, and wherever the crisis has put power into its hands, is endeavouring to realise them in doctrinaire terms, without observing that the foundations of economic and social reality have basically changed. Exactly as economics rationalises and mechanises and finally destroys further values, because the logic of its social and historical image so enjoins upon it.

Although science as a specialised art is still according ideas to all these efforts, and thus giving them a semblance of recognition, it has since the outbreak of the acute crisis consciously or unconsciously been sharing in the general darkening of consciousness, and has allowed itself to be seized by the magical causality of the event. This magical causality of the crisis is shown when man proves unable to contemplate and ponder its causes objectively. He takes the tendencies of the crisis, by which he himself is obsessed, as primary, and sees in them the real causes to be swept out of the way. He therefore opposes them with passion, which immensely strengthens them and makes the crisis more acute.

The background of magical causality in the crisis has yet to be explored, but it can be indicated by the phrase The Other Man is Guilty. This it was that made the crisis acute, arousing an almost religious passion and crusading enthusiasm in the war. When the war failed to bring the desired result, but led conqueror and conquered deeper into crisis, the slogan changed from the National to the Social key, and ran: The Other Social Stratum is Guilty. The enemy among one's own folk is always more dangerous than the foreigner, and violent passions led to revolutions and civil wars which further levelled the social hierarchy. This social dissolution compelled a reassessment of The Other Man as Primary Cause of What Happened. The definitions changed and became more peculiar the farther men went into the zone of the magical. Now it was the parson, now the intellectual, now the Yunkers, now the *bourgeois*, until in the figure of the Freemason and the Jew, two magical dæmons were found in whom the Devil's contours had begun to show.

For the darkening of consciousness will unquestionably lead to

beliefs in devils, and the extirpation of countless human beings. Extermination must be on a vast scale when great masses are obsessed and command instruments of extermination capable of handling great numbers of people in record time. The mediæval bonfires were not thus rationally perfected, and so the scope of extermination was limited.

If one's fellow creature has become a devil, his integument—his origin, career, property, income, and political activities (all the subject of innumerable questions these latter years)—prove nothing. It is not enough to subject him to psychological tests that reach the secret places of his soul. He is as incapable of redeeming himself from reproach and accusation as were heretics and witches. He has to be a devil, or the meaninglessness of events would become clear. The devil in human guise is the last cause man can fake up to avoid being torn from the twilight of consciousness into the surrounding dusk.

The crisis is nothing other than the bankruptcy of human consciousness, which is further collapsing before the crisis, and only becoming an executor of its immanent tendencies. It is therefore not surprising that the most independent and comprehensive efforts to interpret events were undertaken before the outbreak of the crisis and belonged to the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century was content to handle its forebodings discreetly, and faith in the sanctity of science gave its representatives a cool dispassionateness which enabled them to face events, although their basic postulates will not stand.

The foundation of this interpretation is nationalism. It has shown itself the most elemental force to date, even the proletarian revolution being subject to it to this day. Nationalism is a creation of modern European times. It is based upon the concept of the national State which developed out of the disintegration of the mediæval unity of the West, and was created by the revolution of the Princes against Pope and Emperor. Divided off from the rest of the world and developing its internal energies, the national State creates the two elemental phenomena which almost completely dominate the modern age—War and Revolution. For Europe's history is that of national States displaying their external dynamics in war and their inner forces in revolution.

Natural science is the foundation of industrialism, which, like nationalism, builds man a temporal shell. As, through its technical energies, industrialism embraces the whole world, it seems calculated to destroy and defeat nationalism, and lead to cosmopolitanism. Such has not been the case to date, however, in spite of capitalism and

socialism having pronounced international tendencies. The National State, borne up by industrialism, is itself expanding into a World-State. Three world powers have crystallised out of modern developments having the form of a National World-State.

The National State originates from the revolution of the Princes against the old authority of Pope and Emperor. The absolute Prince overset this authority by placing himself at the head of the hierarchy and ruling " by the Grace of God " ; that is to say, as equal of Pope and Emperor within his own territories. As Father of his Country, he invested himself with the emblems of the old authority. The Church grew into a State or National Church, the cloister became a university, which through its theologians and professors furnished the Crown with the intellectual bases for its power, and furnished officials. Town ramparts were razed and re-erected as defences along the national frontiers.

The revolution of the Princes, like all other revolutions, could only serve as basis for power, not for any new authority. The Princes took over the old hierarchy, but in so doing gave the signal to the strata next below to advance in due time by revolution. When the new social strata had incorporated itself in the National State, it began the battle for equal electoral rights in the new worldly shell. It led in England to the revolution of the petty nobility, in France to that of the commoner *bourgeoisie*, in Russia to that of the proletariat.

The broader the stratum of those who identify themselves with the National State, the greater the energies of Nationalism become. Autocratic power had certain limits. A small dominant and interested stratum stood against a wide disinterested and indifferent mass of subjects. The broader the classes which identified themselves with the State, the stronger grew the demand for power. Revolution therefore led into war and made the wars ever bloodier and more cruel. War in turn led to revolution, because victory demanded the voluntary contribution of ever greater masses, which could be purchased only by the grant of further rights. Thus war and revolution, revolution and war, mutually increase each other, until in the twentieth century, World War and World Revolution are equal.

Capitalism arises from the inner dynamics of the Third Estate, the acquisitiveness and profit-greed of the *bourgeoisie*, which liquifies all static property, and brings it to the denomination of money. This stratum's particular energies are liberated only when industrialism achieves its first technical successes.

Socialism arises from the expectations of the new stratum which

alone bears the burdens of the industrial erection. Its dynamic increases rapidly with the swift expansion of the class and the pressure to which it is subject.

All these "isms" are expressions of the mighty urge towards expansion which gripped man at the beginning of the modern European era. Nationalism creates the shell of the National State, where the *bourgeoisie* feels secure. It expands the sensation of space. A town *bourgeoisie* which has hitherto known safety only within its city walls alone thrusts out into the wider area of the National State. Industrialism supplies the means for making the greater space secure and adapting it to man. Capitalism, with its property-acquisition and profit-motivation, unchains with the aid of money all available forces; it dynamises this space and fills it, just as parliamentarism does in the political area, with economic energies. Socialism, on the other hand, leads the hitherto excluded strata into this space and voices their demand for an equal and just distribution of power, of burdens, and of benefits. It thus introduces into it energies so potent that they threaten to burst it.

Imperialism, as the supreme concept, is now laden with all these "isms" and includes them all within itself. The shell of the National State, which the energies of nationalism, industrialism, parliamentarism, capitalism, and socialism threaten to burst, is extended into world-space. Its fate depends on its realising new industrial possibilities, tapping new sources of wealth, in order to satisfy the constantly increasing standard of life and the ever more swiftly increasing demands of its inhabitants. The urge for expansion finds its completion in imperialism, which acts as a safety-valve for those inner forces which threaten to burst the National State like an over-heated kettle, by releasing them into the apparently infinite space of the world.

But the space of the world is not infinite. It is shrunk by industrialism. And the untouched areas and unsubjected peoples are growing rarer. Thus the National State is in danger from the further growth of the energies developing within it. And confronting it are other National States all impelled outward by the same energies within. The moment these different imperialisms have covered the world and cannot expand farther, they begin to battle for the mastery; and all the dammed-up energies of the various "isms" converge in war. The processes at work inside the individual National States give to World War the similitude of a World Revolution, and it is more and more bound up in this, and certain to lead to it, the more totally the masses participate. Capitalism casts into Imperial War all its economic and financial energies; socialism places at its dis-

posal the totally mobilised masses; and industrialism provides the masses with weapons which unleash cosmic forces.

The dæmonic thing about the process is that the "isms" are not weakened in the battle, but, having as their goal the annihilation of the Guilty, are brought to their highest pitch. Nationalism only unleashes its total energies in war. Industrialism directed solely to annihilating the enemy reaches the peak of its perfection. Capitalism creates all available financial and economic reserves and dynamises money down to the tiniest scrap of printed paper. Socialism casts its masses ever more violently into the horrible process of annihilation, and the bitterer the struggle grows the greater are the rights and concessions given to the masses in order to mobilise their voluntary alertness and energy.

This is a brief *résumé* of an interpretation which can be pieced together from the views of leading nineteenth-century thinkers, allowing for the presuppositions of their time and interests. It is an interpretation which still commands assent.

Germany has twice been the nation to let loose the horrors of war, for which she must bear the historic blame.

The First World War arose from a collision between the imperialist Powers let loose by one of them which had come too late in every respect, and was trying to develop its "isms" when the available space had already been seized and distributed. It was fought by Powers who already had all their forces mobilised, but it was still dominated by earlier conceptions. Human consciousness was limping behind events, so that the whole dæmonic quality of the forces unleashed was not apprehended.

It was only in the post-war period that the background of the crisis slowly revealed itself. The World War marked the end of Europe's pre-eminence, and brought transition from the Great Powers of the modern European period to the World Powers of a new historical epoch. Two new dominating Powers emerged: America, because the World War had enabled her to liberate completely her industrialism and her capitalism; and Russia, because, thanks to the double aspect of the revolution, she experienced at one and the same time Renaissance and proletarian socialism, and was able to release mighty internal energies. England was only able to maintain herself in an attenuated condition alongside the two Powers, living on stock and unable to release any fresh energies. The rest of the European Powers count among the losses of the First World War.

The attempts to stabilise the bases of the world by Peace Treaties, Security Pacts, and a new League of Nations may be left out of account, since they were inspired by a consciousness which belonged

to the nineteenth century and had not grasped the realities of the crisis. The post-war period saw re-grouping of the Powers, when American capitalism and Russian socialism began swift sorties to build up their position. America's bankers worked by loans to create a world economic balance, while Russia trumpeted the phrase " World Revolution ". Both lines of development failing, their underlying assumptions no longer coincide with realities in Europe, and they ignore the attraction of nationalism.

Amid the collapse of the old order, only the shell of nationalism remained intact and could hope for security. In a state of tension between American capitalism and Russian socialism, a prey to the influences of both, social reconstruction led to the emergence of new strata from the despoiled middle classes, the pretty *bourgeoisie*, and the civil servants, and from the ascending classes of workers and peasantry. The social multiplicity and opposition of these strata exclude concerted aims or programme-building. But a factor common to them all was the consciousness of being squeezed between the capitalism of the old *bourgeoisie* and the socialism of the proletariat, and apparently passed over by developments. A uniting formation and confirmation of these strata was possible only in the National State, which assimilates their energies and seeks to keep them united by strengthening the concept of the State.

Hence the same situation which led to the First World War recurred, for the National State was incapable of fulfilling the expectation which it aroused, and which it kept alert in order to maintain itself. It was driven forward to a new World War, in which the events of the First World War repeated themselves with gloomy automatism.

The Second World War accomplished not only the final exclusion of Germany as a National State, but also that of Europe as a centre of political power; it further weakened England's position and confirmed America and Russia as the two World Powers of the twentieth century, and the strongest centres of incipient world-unity.

In this way it is possible, with nineteenth-century concepts and postulates, to block out a plausible interpretation of the crisis. It has been sketched here to suggest the unreality of the concepts. With the help of the " isms ", consciousness plots a chart of inevitable events from which there is no escape. And, oppressed by this automatism, the individual waits in fateful despair for the Third World War, painting in his imagination the fearful effects of atom-bombs, death-clouds, bacterial warfare.

The basis of the interpretation is the enormous urge for expansion characterising all the " isms ". But what are the " isms " them-

selves? They are treated as autonomous powers, who, being independent, knock man about, and against whom the individual is powerless. But it is the nature of the dæmonic that it is iridescent and indefinable. It is from a diffuse indefiniteness and vague haziness that it has its being, and it loses its power only when it has gained stature and form. Now it is actually the peculiarity of all these "isms" that they cannot be defined. Science itself has never succeeded in defining them clearly, although it works with them.

What, for instance, is nationalism, the most elemental force in modern Europe? What are its roots, how does it arise, and how does it support itself? What are parliamentarism, capitalism, socialism? Every person alive today knows, or thinks he knows, and numberless definitions are advanced for these phenomena. Most of the definitions, however, are contradictory, and, considered together, do not produce a clear and unequivocal account. In order to give clarity to a single "ism", people were forced to work through the whole course of modern European history, pick the particular "ism" out of the total presentation and "unbracket" it, at the same time describing all the other "isms" along with it, because they are so interwoven and interrelated that no one of them can be made clear without the rest.

Let us take nationalism. There are innumerable books and screeds, testimonies and documents about this phenomenon, and the peculiar thing is that they all posit it as something known, without examining its causes. It is accepted as an absolute phenomenon without being queried or criticised. Even when called into question, it is always from its absolute antipodes, internationalism or cosmopolitanism, which have an air of being pale and impotent and washed out. Nationalism is neither to be explained from the people and its history at any given period, nor by love of home or the fatherland. Love for people is always associated with a small home space, and evaporates before the great areas embraced by the modern National State. It is not possible from this standpoint to explain a power so strong that millions of people give up their lives for it. Compared with these millions the number of religious martyrs or of men who have given their lives for their convictions is microscopically small.

Nationalism becomes comprehensible only when the National State is seen as the substitute-shell in the material world into which mediæval man fled for protection when the religious and cosmic shell in which he had hitherto found shelter and security, had collapsed. Not the security of a natural kind, such as is afforded by power and ramparts, but that metaphysical protection without which man is unable to bear the uncertainty of his existence. The change of

direction from the world beyond to this world which occurred at the inception of modern Europe was wrongly interpreted by the philosophers and historians of the Enlightenment, who hero-worshipped mankind. According to their presentation, what happened at the Renaissance was the advent of an autonomous self-conscious human type, emerging from the narrow mediæval shell into the freedom of the material world, and stretching forwards in a Titanic and Promethean manner, toward an ever-increasing joy in living. The picture is false because it hides the fact that man fled into the substitute-shell of the State and locked himself in; he gave up the old security only after he had found the new. The National State became a pill-box, an air-raid shelter, a dug-out into which man fled when, God having been taken away, he was delivered over to the disquieting pressure of the void and infinity, and felt powerless before them.

Into this material worldly substitute-shell man brought his newly freed religious energies, and the National State offered him a material and visible substitute for the other-worldly and invisible conception which had been taken from him. The Father of his Country became a substitute for God the Father, and was at pains to bedizen and surround himself with all the emblems hitherto attributed to God the Father.

It was man's religious energies which were originally caught in the National State, and nationalism can therefore be understood only if one recognises this religious element in it, now reshaped and given gross material form. The convinced nationalist no longer needs religion, for nationalism gives him the metaphysical foundations for his existence. And it is precisely these religious energies flowing ever more forcibly into the shell of the State which provide the dynamic for the National State.

Because everything about the State is tangible and visible, it is peculiarly open to danger and bound up with anguish. In religious faith there is none of this anguish, for it is a thing apart from the material world, bound up with and revealed by the totality of life's experience, and possessing an inner certainty, not to be shaken from without unless the man has delivered himself up to a visible idol. The National State can be threatened and convulsed. Man is then not only materially endangered but exposed once more to the torture of metaphysical insecurity from which he fled into the substitute-shell of the State. For this reason the citizen of the National State lives in a state of permanent watchfulness, and all wars are to him wars of self-defence, since he loses the basis of his life if the State is destroyed.

Nationalism as a religion is now reaching its limits, with people who have remained in touch with Nature; that is to say among the peasantry. Internationalism, deriving from the ideas of the world-*bourgeoisie* and the philosophy of Enlightenment, is vanishing into thin air, but meanwhile strengthens Nationalism with its opposition. Nationalism, in so far as it has released man from subjection to Nature and from his religious bonds, arouses fanatical enthusiasm and assumes a dæmonic character. This has occurred in Europe, where since the Middle Ages the National State has not only gone on loosening man from his religious ties, but with natural science and industrialism has liberated him from his link with Nature, and thus made him its dependant.

It is only as a substitute for man's universal and religious shell that Nationalism is comprehensible. And it can never be overcome by international thinking, but only by man finding once more his religious and natural connections, and thus turning from the materialist world to the spiritual world beyond it.

Modern life is breaking down because its conception of human nature has proved too narrow and is being exploded by man himself. Man thrown back on his consciousness lived for a few centuries by the destruction of the hierarchy and upon his religious inheritance. The remains of the hierarchy and the rudiments of his religion saved him from putting his conception of human nature to the test. But the hierarchy has now been levelled, and man's religious heritage exhausted, and he is thrown back on his consciousness alone. Pervaded during the nineteenth century by magical qualities, consciousness shows itself incapable of recognising and dealing with reality.

For half a millennium man has made his action dependent on a false view of his nature, and understands the forces which dominate his world as little as he does his own elemental powers. Hence the crisis is really a crisis of human consciousness, a crisis of human perception.

Chapter

7

THE CRISIS OF PERCEPTION

> "Faith seeketh, the intellect findeth. Unless ye shall have believed, ye shall not understand. For there are some things which we do not believe unless we come to understand them, and there are others which we do not understand unless we choose to believe them. Our intelligence is therefore suitable for understanding whatsoever it believes, and our faith is suitable for believing the things it understands."
>
> ST. AUGUSTINE.

I

IT is an error to seek historical analogies for our modern situation and accept it stoically. It is true that the rhythm of world history displays a multiplicity of different cultures dissolving and following each other. But the world is now united, and its peoples have a common destiny, and if today we are in a period of decline, it is a decline in world culture.

So long as the multiplicity and the fluid succession of different cultures continued, it meant that a new chapter of world history could begin. And it could continue so long as it was confined to a few illuminated points on the globe. Vast reserves could periodically stream into the light of historical consciousness. Today the reserves of space have been exhausted and humanity is a collective body within the framework of a united culture which has embraced the whole world. "Mankind" has stepped into the light of historical consciousness, which means the end of history as it has hitherto been known. Consciously or unconsciously world-history has lived on the conviction that it has been moving onwards toward the unity of the world and mankind. This goal has now been reached. The next few decades will write the final lines of the book. And what then? Once the goal has been reached, man collapses into the sobriety of the finite. And it will induce the greatest crisis of all humanity.

Already it is casting the first shadows of its coming. The people of the West observe them, and many are dreaming of fleeing into the new world of America, or to the periphery of South Africa or Australia; in any case of fleeing to some new place, which still has

"a future". For European man this flight into the future is nothing but a flight from his actual present into the past. With a dim suspicion that "he has had it", he seeks for places and peoples where he can forget his finiteness. The flight leads nowhere, for quite soon he will have "had" all the other spaces and peoples. And the man who has once experienced the shock of the finite never quite recovers. He has lost his first fine careless rapture, and amid accelerated dynamics and increasing speed will be unable to forget that he is quite close to finiteness. Anyone who quits Europe today is shutting himself off from the advance-guard of humanity.

The wider world is beginning to notice these first shadows of finitude. For which reason it casts the network of its giant planes against the canvas of heaven, and is dreaming of rockets and space-ships driven by atomic energy, to whizz from the earth's surface to the moon, to colonise strange stars. These attempts will certainly be made, and it is possible that they will succeed. But what success can they have? Only the success of leaving man an imaginative gap through which he can escape the finite which is closing about him.

If the unity of mankind is attained, man will experience it as the end of "world history", that road leading through the centuries to the unification of the world. On the horizontal man has reached his goal, and therefore comes to an end. Of course that does not mean an end of the events so meticulously entered in the history books. So long as mankind and the world go on there will be rulers and ruled, poor and rich, war-like and peaceful peoples; there will be happy and unhappy, brilliant and murky epochs. But history will have lost its old sense; it will revert from the dynamics of directed movement and the form of a straight line to the cycle of events and the form of a circle, unless before the wall of the finite man is directly touched from the vertical, and lifted on to a different plane of being.

Later generations may wonder at the blind enthusiasm with which men offered all their strength to secure the unity of the world within the framework of a technical culture, and at the immense force of inner asceticism required for the purpose.

Before the wall of finitude each individual must ask himself to what extent he can release in himself forces so long buried that he was almost unaware of their existence. And according to the answer he will reach a new level of life or collapse before the barrier of his finiteness. All humanity is being summoned to judgement. We are at a terminal period, confronting something quite new and different, and the bridge between the old and the new runs through every man. Anyone still capable of being honest with himself will admit this in the

embarrassing moments of self-examination, and in the measure to which he admits it, has begun growing.

Man's position today is one of deadly earnestness. For three decades and more he has been bumping his head seeking a way out of a vicious circle. He bumps his head against the autonomous and reasonable being he believes himself to be. He succeeds in finding ways that promise an escape from the crisis, and even carries them out at times. But the result is always the same. His every attempt, made in all good faith, ends by making the crisis worse, more acute. An alien and mysterious power seems to be turning everything he undertakes the wrong way round, transmuting reason into nonsense and beneficence into injury. Something behind his consciousness appears to mock his most thoughtful efforts and suggest ideas which do not modify the crisis but heighten it; so that the man begins to doubt himself and to fall into desperation. Is that what the crisis really means, leading men into a state of despair? That is exactly what it does mean! For it is despair alone which can move a man to question and test the things on which he has based his life. The premises from which man advances are false, and so the conclusion must always turn out wrong. His error lies in assuming that he is an individual advancing to meet the crisis when he sets the apparatus of his thought in action; which is by no means the case.

For the consciousness which he bears within him is but the mirror-reflection of the external culture and is sustained by it; it is reciprocal to the culture and inseparable from it. His ego is created and conditioned by the many items of his culture on which he can count and which he can display and demonstrate; it is not something in opposition to the culture, but is the culture itself. Hence the vicious circle arises that the man is borne by the very forces he is supposed to perceive, is obsessed by what he is supposed to possess.

> "A large society composed of first class human beings", writes C. G. Jung,[1] "resembles in morality and intelligence a large stupid and violent animal. That is to say, the bigger the organisations are, the more inevitable their immorality and blind stupidity. (*Senatus bestia, senatores boni viri*) . . . For the development of personality a drastic separation from the collective soul is an absolute necessity, for every incomplete separation leads to the immediate dissolution of the individual in the collective body."

The dæmonic urges which the collective unconscious throws up eruptively to the surface of consciousness are served by thought and

[1] C. G. Jung: *Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious.*

given the character of ideas. They seethe and boil over more violently the nearer the collective body draws to the end of the present phase of history. Like a mighty spring flood, the body collective beats with the waves of its worldly and material expectation on the wall of the finite; and as new forces surge on there is raging seething mass before it.

In the course of his history man has survived many crises and catastrophes. But the historical crisis today is unprecedented. For its course and dimensions spring entirely from the will of man. It is not due to convulsions of Nature. Man has raised it up and steers it, and now has fearful cosmic powers to do his bidding, capable of destroying the planet itself; and whereas earlier crises had but a partial significance in the overlapping and succession of cultures, this is the first "total" crisis embracing mankind as a whole. Moreover, man is not only producing and directing catastrophe, but is consciously observing its phases, much in the manner of a doctor who observes the burgeoning of a cancerous growth in his body, and follows his own degeneration quite clearly.

If the crisis were recognised as one of perception, there is a chance that events would register not in human consciousness but in conscience. Instead of being functionaries of the collective body, men might then once more become individual persons.

2

The theory of perception upon which modern man has depended originated from natural science in its effort to come to terms with the external world. Its postulates have been already described. In place of the living plentitude of Nature and the Universe, with which man is vitally bound up and works reciprocally, we have a dead apparatus, a piece of mechanism working under immutable laws, capable of being represented in mathematical formulæ; a mechanism above which human consciousness—but only human consciousness, not man as a vital and spiritual totality—can freely rise.

So long as the Opposite or object of observation is lifeless, a quantity convertible into numbers, and the book of Nature, to quote Galileo, "is written in mathematical language", it can be grasped in mathematical formulæ and subjected to mathematical laws. Rationalism has always been founded on mathematics, on the *ratio et veritas numeri*.

The method is clearly shown in the approach of the Renaissance painter to his object. Albrecht Dürer has depicted it in his *Draughtsman with the Perspective Frame*.

> "Between the object and the eye, which is fixed by an adjustable visor, a grid made of wires is suspended vertically in the plane where the picture would be. The image appearing herein, with its individual points fixed in that plane by the network, can now be transferred on to a drawing-board provided with a corresponding grid. By means of this optico-geometrical relationship of the bodily forms on that plane, the eye is trained to see the tri-dimensional bodily form in an isolated vision as a flat image. Thus the geometrical faculty works retroactively upon the representational faculty and defines its forms. By means of it the object is apprehended visually in its overall spatial stature. The representational rules of formal correctness are only a means of perceiving the objective correctness. It is by means of this orderly fixation that the subject–object relationship is first spatially determined and defined." [1]

Between the object to be observed and the subject which is the observer, the artist interposes his wire-grid apparatus. Thrust between subject and object, breaking through and breaking off the immediate and direct connection between the two, it is an allegory of the whole method of perception with which, since the Italian Renaissance, man has been approaching and seeking to take possession of the object. Natural science cannot work with Nature and the Universe as man experiences them in their completeness and as he stands in a relationship of reciprocal exchange with them. It thrusts the wire-grid of mathematics between Man and Nature, and the grid becomes ever more concrete in appearance, as in Albrecht Dürer's design, the more numerous are the bits of apparatus interposed. The perspective grid of the Renaissance draughtsman has today expanded into the vast mensuration apparatus with which technical physics does its work. "The course of development runs", as Max Bense [2] describes it, "from concrete and immediate Nature to an apparatus-bound Nature, from this apparatus-bound Nature to abstract Nature, and from abstract Nature to the concrete mensuration apparatus of technical physics."

This development is possible so long as the object remains lifeless and adaptable to mathematics; it becomes illusory when the object refuses to fit into the mathematical method, as atom-physics finds today. For the atom manifesting itself now as a wave, now as a corpuscle, no apparational form can be fixed. It has introduced concepts like imprecision, inaccuracy, indefinableness, and proba-

[1] D. Frey: *Gothic and Renaissance.*
[2] Max Bense: *Outlines of an Intellectual History of Mathematics.*

bility into the clarified world of mathematics. Mathematics can indeed still do some work with them, but they do not correspond at all to its real nature.

And the wire-grid is becoming dubious. The apparatus is obviously influencing the nature of the object, which thus no longer exists in complete independence from the observer, but has already entered into contact with him through the apparatus, so that subject and object melt together in the concept of experimental reality.

In the Theory of Relativity mathematics loses its absolute character as Truth-in-Itself, and is revealed in multi-dimensional calculations as a function, an instrument, upon which man can certainly play if he knows what he wants to play, but which cannot of itself provide him with a melody. It therefore evinces only a subservient character.

Above all, it is the man who changes the subject, the observer who stands behind the apparatus and affects the object through it; for when all is said and done he is the special factor of imprecision and indefinableness which is today breaking as a dæmon into the world of artifice erected on the foundation of classical physics. For the artificial world erected on an abstraction could function only if it were served and populated by beings just as abstract, and in order to reach this state man would have had to submit himself under the whip of the apparatus to an enormous asceticism.

> "The intelligible asceticism of our physical science is manifest," Max Bense writes. "If we assume that the sociological world of Laplace's dæmon is a world of total technique, it is clear that a still further increased inner-worldly asceticism will be inevitable. How then should not the sociological structure, also in a world where a science of the highest intelligible asceticism is presupposed, be also distinguished by a heightened inner-worldly asceticism?" [1]

The artificial world of abstraction would have had to create a new type, the abstract human, each individual educating himself through the sternest asceticism. In the work of the Brothers Jünger this abstract world and its inhabitants are outlined in visionary form, Ernst Jünger in *The Worker* describing the new human type, and Friedrich Georg Jünger in *The Perfection of Technique* describing the world in which he would have to live. In the *Worker*,

> "Amidst extreme privation the feeling for the great tasks of life increases", writes Ernst Jünger . . . "It suffices to

[1] Max Bense: *Outlines of an Intellectual History of Mathematics.*

consider our life in its full unshackling and in its pitiless discipline, with its smoking and glowing districts, with the physics and metaphysics of its traffic, its motors, aeroplanes and million inhabitant towns, to begin to suspect with a feeling of horror mixed with desire that there is not an atom here that is not at work, and we ourselves are deeply committed to this process . . . so it comes to pass that wars of the knights, the kings, the citizens, are followed by the wars of the worker."

Friedrich Georg Jünger is well able to see the tendency towards perfection which is native to technique, but at the same time sees its limits.

> "The wasteful rough-cast mining without which it is unthinkable, the brutal and careless consumption of persons and means cannot be carried on as a long term policy; it ends with the exhaustion of the objects to the consumption of which technical progress is directed. Contrary calculations omit to notice that one of the objects consumed by technical progress is man himself. They do not take account of the fact that there are limits to the development of mechanics, because there is bound up therewith a multiplication of elemental forces which directs itself destructively against man and the world of mechanics."

The crisis in the mechanism of our artificial world, erected as that world was on the basis of classical physics, is the expression of man's inability to abstract himself sufficiently to be able to keep the technical machinery in action. Yet it is natural that in the midst of the darkness which overhangs his consciousness and clouds his whole existence, he cleaves to what formerly guaranteed his consciousness, albeit the consequences are such as to suggest the ravings of a lunatic. Human service of the apparatus is likely to be imposed with all the resources of tyranny and terror by those who have responsibly occupied the apparatus, and as its understrappers have to make of man the lifeless atom for maintaining and extending the mechanism of the technical world of civilisation, founded on classical physics.

The physical atom has proved to be an enigmatic something which has destroyed the mechanism of classical physics. "Atom-man" is also revealing himself as enigmatic. On the one side he is disquietingly active and vital, a dark dæmonic creature, while he yet continues the method of rationalism and mechanism, and so doing becomes an object of compulsion and terror.

Basically speaking, we have no theory of perception. We only have faith in the power of our consciousness, supposed to have a natural capacity for perceiving whatever goes on around us or within us. This faith is supported solely on the mathematico-experimental method of natural science, and on the truth and reasonableness of number. Not by way of any supposed mastery over the laws and rules of number, which are understood only by a few hundred men in the whole world, and apparently no longer mastered individually, but through their collective work.

The tangible wonder of the machine, however, is still able to confirm man's belief in the power of human consciousness. Galileo and Descartes influenced only an esoteric minority, specially devoted to thought. From their ideas the broad masses could draw no conclusions; they only drew them after being shown the machine, as evidence of the correctness of rationalist ideas. They then drew conclusions promptly and with a vengeance. Hence, when rationalism dreamed of a *Mathesis universalis* to contain in itself the whole of Truth, it was difficult for the voices of objection to make themselves heard. Swift and Pascal, Berkeley and Goethe protested against the predominance of number.

> "After I had begun the study of man", wrote Pascal, himself a mathematical genius, "I perceived that pure scientific knowledge is not suitable to men, and that I made more mistakes about my state in the world while studying it than those who knew nothing at all about it."
>
> "I honour mathematics", said Goethe, "as the most adroit and useful science, so long as men only use it in its place, but I cannot approve when people insist on misusing it on things which do not enter into the realm of mathematics at all, when noble Science itself at once appears to be nonsense."

Schopenhauer's view was sharper still, to the effect that "the lowest of all mental activities is that of arithmetic, proved by its being the only one capable of being done by a machine as well!"

The mathematical enthusiasm of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had already fallen into decline in the nineteenth century, when the science of history stepped more strongly into the foreground. As we have already seen, it mobilised progress-optimism, the secularised heritage of Christian faith, and thus gave man an additional security and directed him towards the future. In the process rationalism and the science of evaluating percentages of truth borrowed from the philosophy of history, and their ideas were transformed into "isms", till finally in the twentieth century they

turned directly into "myths", and revealed their dæmonic character.

Mathematics have lost their claim to absoluteness. They have again become what they always were, an instrument of human consciousness, which man can certainly use most advantageously, but which cannot interpret and illumine his own nature to him, so that to base human interest upon it is quite illusory. All of which was simply expressed by Pascal:

> "Knowledge of circumstantial matters will never comfort us in times of trouble for an ignorance of morals, but a knowledge of the moralities will constantly comfort us for ignorance of circumstantial matters."

Kierkegaard set against rationalism the whole vital existence of man.

> "The way of objective truth (mathematics, metaphysics, historical knowledge of different kinds) leads away from the subject", he writes. ". . . All essential perception touches upon existence or, to put it another way, only perception which has a real relationship to existence, is real perception. Perception which is not concerned with the inward turned reflection of the inwardness of existence, is in essence but casual perception, and its degree and scope are essentially a matter of indifference. Only ethical and ethico-religious perceptions have a real relationship to the perceptor's actual existence."

So long as rationalism was sustained by the religious heritage of the masses which it admittedly exposed to scepticism, so long could it also trail the illusion of a *Mathesis universalis*. As the nineteenth century released the broad masses from the unconscious security of the religious heritage, and it fell to science to assume responsibility for man in the totality of his being and to provide him with the foundations for his existence, these illusions burst like soap-bubbles. Science then pulled out of the business at top speed and scattered itself in the splendid isolation of a supposedly intellectual world. The science of history sought to fill the gap, but could do so only by setting the popular church of progress in place of the heritage of Christian doctrine. In the last years of the nineteenth century history fell into the nugatoriness of relativity, and offers no clear direction in the twentieth century crisis.

With the change in natural science and mathematics, and after the collapse of the science of history, man has lost the basis of his theory of perception without gaining another.

3

The crisis of perception strikes man from a point least expected—from that area wrested from Nature where he has set up his artificial world. If man is to be Lord of Creation, it must be within the world he has himself created, and where he has realised his liberty. His dominating this world, as knowing it down to its smallest detail, has been a proposition of unquestioned validity for centuries.

Mediæval man held that from Being emerges Action, or, as the scholastic formula has it, *operari sequitur esse*. The reverse is valid for modern man: creation and action are the sole basis of Being; that is to say *esse sequitur operari*. The man who gives its features to the 1600–1900 period is *homo faber*. But does man thoroughly know what he has himself made? At least among primitives the claim would not be valid, and we can no longer dismiss their world as senseless and unreasonable. Primitives, it has been earlier suggested, retain faculties which have become defective in our civilisation, and while in some ways they are inferior to modern man, in others they are superior.

Now, the primitive does not understand and perceptively know what he has himself made. On the contrary:

> "The objects of ordinary use made by man retain their mystical qualities and have, according to the dircumstances, a beneficent or harmful effect.
>
> "This fact has been high-lighted by Cushing. Cushing was a wonderful observer who lived among the Zunis, and persuaded them to let him share their communal life. He says 'The Zunis, like most primitive peoples, imagine manufactured articles to be alive in the nature of plants, of animals hibernating or of human beings asleep. It is a kind of heavy and yet potent life, apt for passive resistance and indeed for a secret kind of active work inasmuch as it can bring forth both good and evil. And as the living beings known to them, like animals, have functions corresponding to their shapes—the bird has wings and flies, the fish has fins and swims, four-footed animals run and jump—so too the objects made by men's hands have numerous functions, all according to the shape they get. It follows thence that the tiniest detail in the shapes has its significance.
>
> "'Thus a difference in the end of the paws has the effect that the bear gets hold of his booty by hugging it while the panther seizes it by plunging his claws into it. In similar wise the "powers" of this or that domestic implement, such as bow, arrow, club or any other weapon, are bound up with every little

detail of their shape; which must accordingly be meticulously copied when new ones are being finished. Furthermore the forms of objects do not only give them " faculties " but they also limit the nature and the measure of these faculties. If they are made as they should be, that is to say manufactured and dimensioned in the way that other objects of the sort always have been, the objects can be used with every confidence for the same service. The fish cannot fly with its fins nor the bird swim with its wings—in that case it would have to be a bird with feet such as the duck has; in the same way an implement, a vessel of traditional shape, can only serve the traditional use of that vessel, and one will not have to fear unknown powers which might get into a new shape.' " [1]

According to Cushing, this explains the extraordinary permanence of shapes among primitive peoples, who avoid varying the tiniest detail even of the decorations of their work. That is not, as people have said, the effect of usage and a conservative spirit, but of an active faith in the mystical qualities of the objects which are bound up with their shapes and would immediately escape from man's control were the tiniest change made. Apparently insignificant variations may release hostile forces and finally bring to ruin their inventor and those who belong to him.

The primitive therefore does not hold the view that he has perceived and understands, and thus fully mastered whatever he has himself made. The utensil he uses retains its own particular life, and is full of dangers, and it is only by keeping exactly to the original form that he is to some extent safeguarded. This mental attitude has become completely alien to modern man. Not only does he hold that objects which he has himself made are lifeless and submissive to him, but he keeps demanding an endless change of shapes, seeks restlessly for " novelties ". He does so from a desire to display his possessions to his neighbours and obtain their approval, which he projects on to himself. The new dress, the new car, the new radio, the thousand-and-one products of civilisation keep changing their shape to remain " up-to-date ", " unprecedented ", " unique ", and " striking ", which their owner can show and with which he can " show off ", in order to be assured by others that he is different and enviable. That this swift change of forms might be dangerous because of his ignorance of them would seem to him a ludicrous suggestion.

None the less, it may not be unprofitable to test the sureness of his

[1] Lévy-Brühl: *The Souls of Savages.*

perceptive knowledge on a practical object in his instrument world. Let us take one with which everyone is familiar: the motor-car. In the normal structure of civilisation the one condition for liberty is the possession of money. Having that, a man buys a car, learns in a few hours the necessary manual controls, obtains a driving licence, sits at the wheel and whizzes through the world at from fifteen to twenty times his natural speed. He knows the car, an instrument of civilisation, fully and accurately. He knows how it works, how its components are put together, and that every disturbance must have an ascertainable cause. Yet if he were to demand a definitive explanation of all the forces active in his instrument, he would soon be out of his depth; for he would find himself in laboratories where physicists are busily working to reduce the dark forces and processes of Nature to the cypher-script of their concepts and figures; and if he pursued his inquiries far enough, he would be involved in the crisis which has seized upon Natural Science, and realise that his image of the car is far from possessing the clarity and assurance he imagines.

Modern instruments do not arise from a final insight into the nature of the Universe, from the perception of indivisible truth and the certainty of a clear world-image, but are the result of innumerable acts of experimental daring, which have wrested from Nature a few of her secrets without having opened up the whole interrelationship of her working powers. They arose from the "*operari*" and not the "*esse*". It is therefore far from certain that man really dominates the world of natural creation and can make use of it unpenalised; it is far from certain that by means of his *operari* he will not one day be involved in an unknown field-of-force, and exposed to a cosmic repercussion, with disastrous consequences. Then his instruments would reveal themselves as animals hibernating, as drowsing men, whom to awaken would be to invite apocalyptic consequences. Only a few years ago man would have laughed at such a suggestion. The progress of atomic fission has given him better instruction, and he is beginning to look on the future with dread.

Man does not know the ultimate background of the car, but he knows the system of law under which it stands. The rules and interrelationships of this strange inorganic life, which imitates the processes of natural life like eating, digesting, breathing, and the development of energy, are quite clear and comprehensible to him, and he would be right in claiming that he sees and knows what he has himself made.

Yet it has not produced any true perceptive knowledge. Man's perceptive faculty has been developed by innumerable experiences on the long, thorny path the species has travelled over thousands of

years. The most important task of his consciousness is to advise him as to the effects of his own conduct, and the effect upon him of the alien things around him, what they mean " for him ". Consciousness and perception have been built up from a long process of suffering; daring to act against the will of Nature, man exposed himself to the counter-strokes of Nature, and learnt from pain and suffering thus courted where the true boundaries of liberty lie.

Primitive man, handling his instruments as though they contained strange hibernating forces, is not behaving so illogically as it might seem. A succession of experiences has shown him that the instrument is a dangerous being whose power he cannot always control. Crazy as it seems to us that he should address his instrument—say, an axe—before using it, the conjuration at least reminds him of the power of what he holds, and warns him that with this " axe " thing in his hand he must not yield to those impulses and emotions appropriate to his being when restricted to his own powers.

By observation and experiment we have been able to bring an alien thing " opposite " us into a determinate system of figures and concepts. We master these alien things with the aid of our consciousness; and any kind of apprehension before their mysterious powers seems quite incomprehensible. The bigger the power of the thing, the greater the testimony to our consciousness, which has made it serviceable.

All that, however, is nothing but abstract knowledge, concerning only some properties of the object. Perceptive knowledge of the object embraces a reciprocal back-working in to the subject, answering the question, What does this alien thing mean " to me ", what effect upon me does it have? The primitive answers the question without difficulty, having perceptive knowledge without our mass of abstract knowledge. Whereas we have little perception of things.

To return to the example of the motor-car, we have considerable knowledge of the " thing in itself ", which we have acquired to " make use " of it. In the relationship car–man, however, we are included only as conscious beings, not in the totality of all that we are as men.

An understanding of what the car means " for us " is confined to the conscious " I " which we display to others, and which they confirm. Independently of the fact that the style of the car influences social standing, it has great importance for the conscious Ego. Through its power I increase my liberty. It conquers space for me, which means a gift of time.

Man is conscious, however, only to a small extent of his total being; he is a conscious being, indeed, only to the extent to which he can abstract himself by excluding, by withdrawing his attention from

the forces of his being which do not harmonise with the image he has made of himself. And they, once left to themselves, lose shape and stature and in the form of dæmons become obsessive. The car places me as an unconscious totality amid quite other realities, so that while in it I lead quite another life and become quite another being. And I become this other, this " car-person ", without myself being aware of the fact, for I am in no sense armed against the car, but enter it—in my colossally unembarrassed *naïveté*—as the most natural thing in the world. While identifying myself with the image of my conscious Ego, to which incidentally the car substantially contributes, I deliver myself without reserve to dark elemental forces, which grasp my unconscious nature, model it, and change it, while I as a conscious being keep my eyes on the road and on the instrument board.

We settle down at the steering-wheel and shoot off at 100 kilometres an hour or more through the countryside, allowing ourselves to be transported by forces many times exceeding the strength of our own beings. We rejoice in the speed. The rhythmical beat of the pistons is music to us. The road becomes a long white band to be consumed. And all of it, rhythm and tempo, the sense of power as the foot presses the accelerator and the hand turns the wheel, goes deep within us, and imperceptibly invites us from being a man to become a car-fiend ; that is to say, to become a creation of the instrument which we ourselves have made.

Thus man becomes a car-man, a quite different being. The dæmonic qualities of the car—without passing man's power-conscious and self-satisfied consciousness—gain access to the unconscious and emotional depths of his being with somewhat sinister effect.

The motorist will naturally point out how essential is a car existence, for he is living in an artificial world where space must be overcome and time saved. But the car can be shown in another causal nexus about which the motorist likes to keep silent, because here he cannot appeal to professional necessity.

Imagine two human beings (not necessarily young) surrendered to the magic of jazz, which releases them from the rhythm of the machine by physically completing it. Drink further loosens their control. They then set off in a car, switching on its radio and coupling the rhythm of the engine with that of the music. After driving wildly through a world which is all their own, they stop somewhere, and in a state of exaggerated power-consciousness surrender themselves to sexual contacts which are infantile and atavistic, and which (to judge from their birth certificates) they

should have long outgrown. But innumerable crooners assure them that this is " Love ", and they believe it for half an hour; to repeat the experience next evening with a new partner. Here what is doing the " loving " is not the human being, but the " car-being ". Our age passes such occurrences with a self-complacent smirk and finds academic *voyeurs* in plenty who are ready to justify them as a healthy way to relieve tension.

Every artist knows that his work acquires a life of its own once it is complete, separate, and placed " opposite " him. It is no longer an object, but has become a subject charged with forces, which in the work itself have found allegorical and symbolical form, but which spring from a living power beyond it and point above it to something which possesses no form. The artistic value of the work depends upon its revelation of this " Other Power ", and upon the nature of the " Other Power ", whether it is dæmonic or god-like, depends the quality of the work.

The instruments of civilisation possess today the liveliness which proceeds from art itself. They have energies which scarcely differ from those of real life, except in being many times stronger. They have become dæmons against whom human beings are in no wise prepared.

> " I believe ", says Berdyayev,[1] " that the victorious progress of the machine is one of the greatest revolutions in human destiny. . . . A kind of mysterious force, alien as it were to man, and indeed to nature, enters into human life; a kind of third element, which is not natural and which is not human, is gaining fearful power over man as well as over nature. This new and frightful force is disintegrating man's natural forms. It is subjecting the human being to a process of dismemberment and division, as a consequence of which man is as it were ceasing to be a natural creation, as he was erstwhile."

4

It is almost impossible to make the modern understand that he has not *per*-ceived, or come to know *through* the world he lives in. How can I make it clear to a man who elegantly drives his car up to me that he is obsessed by, and not possessed of, his machine?

He is in perfect agreement with me over the terrifying prospects of atomic and bacterial warfare, and we separate in the joint conviction that at almost any cost it must be avoided. Atomic and bacterial warfare, however, does not begin somewhere high up over

[1] N. Berdyayev: *The Sense of History.*

our heads, but in the fact of both of us being obsessed by the dæmons of our instruments, both of us having between fifteen and thirty times our natural power now at our disposal. Multiply this exaggerated increase in power by two and a half milliards of men, and the result is atomic war.

It may be that we discuss a speech of one of the unfortunate beings called to lead mankind politically, who, from a clear insight into the causal connection of things, appeals to us to improve ourselves and work for peace. We both of us find this speech reasonable and good, and many share our view. We then, peacefully, leave each other, and my companion goes excitedly to the throttle and swings round a curve at 100 kilometres an hour. With that we promptly find ourselves a little nearer to atomic and bacterial warfare. It is the greatest error to suppose that we bombard the atom; it is atoms which bombard us. The decline begins with every switch a man turns on in consciousness of his power, every button he presses in consciousness of himself, and every lever he throws into circuit with an elegant grace. . . .

But suppose I try to make this clear to the man who steers his car up to me? His car is a part of the paraphernalia through which he displays himself and secures collective approval. His consciousness, grievously reduced by the prolonged crisis, is renewed and strengthened each time he spins again round a curve at top speed.

As a magnificent creature that methodically carries out his bidding, the car is in no sense a problem challenging his cognition. Any insinuation that he lacks perception of his car and the artificial world of his creation strikes him as pure nonsense. It is difficult to make him understand that he knows the car only as a thing, " for itself ", but does not really have knowledge of it as the " thing in itself ".

Since natural science has been using the mathematico-experimental method, man has employed the theory of perceptive knowledge based upon it; and it worked well up to the outbreak of the crisis. It could be promptly transmuted into deeds, and by the functioning of its products could at any moment produce evidence of its own truth. In this it differed so pleasantly from the truths of faith and the assertions of philosophy, which made demands of man without being able to give him visible and tangible security.

For over five hundred years Western perception has rested on the trick of interpolating mathematics, and by this process man's own ego was screened off in exactly the same way as was the nature of the Power Opposite, resulting in man appearing only as a conscious being " opposite " a mathematicised object. With this trick the shell of technical civilisation has been created. If today the trick

seems to be losing its effect, and the modern Perception Theory seems inadequate, man knows no other.

Perceptive knowledge is vitally necessary to man because he neither belongs to the instinctive animal world nor has their specialised bodily organs. He needs therefore the perception which will tell him enough about his own nature and the world in which he lives to make his existence secure, yet enable him as an individual, imperfect and unfinished, to get closer to his goal of completion. He can do nothing to change his incompleteness; he can only hope to make something of what is his destiny and bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. He senses the world of natural creation as alien, because, while dependent upon it, he is imperfectly adapted to it—a state of things he perceives with anguish. He seeks release by cutting himself away from the world surrounding and overpowering him, to meet it " opposite " him, and take possession of it.

In the earliest stages of his development man is never in complete unity with the world around him, or he would possess no human qualities at all; for it is precisely the qualities of consciousness showing themselves in anguish which characterise him as human. The diffuse intermingling of inner world and circumstantial world appears almost to constitute a unity. At the most primitive levels, anguish alone indicates that this unity is no longer present, but the " opposition " has arisen between subject and object, myself and the world, which is characteristic of consciousness.

This is a long process, embracing numberless generations, during which man is transformed with the world around him. For escape from incarceration by his circumstantial world, and from being obsessed by things, frees him from the pain of anguish and secures him freedom. He advances to meet things " opposite " him, gives them names and sets them in the framework of an order. From the " thou " of objects " opposite " him arises retroactively the " ego " of the person, which constitutes his consciousness. Every ego is determined by his many meetings with a " thou ", and the " thou " is always contained in the " I " as another " dark half " lying in the shadows, just as the " ego " is always included in the " thou ".

Consciousness is not a faculty conferred on man with the security and permanence of the other organs of his body, but is delivered to him as a function in relation to his circumjacent world. It is a matter of a dynamic and ever-present polar tension between subject and object, soul and world, which is affected and modified by change in either of the two poles. The diffuse interfusion of spirit and world which characterises the zone of the magical will give place to the

clarity of opposition between subject and object; yet their basic interfusion goes on. Subject and object can be widely sundered in the field of tension; they can be tugged apart like the two ends of a rubber-band and become strangers to each other. But it only needs a change in either of the poles to change the tension of their opposition, and with it the consciousness itself; only a sudden convulsion is needed to restore the rubber-band, to revive the original diffuse inter-penetration of soul and world around it, and to thrust man back again into the zone of the magical. In fact, it needs only a relatively tiny impulse to transform a man who has based himself on consciousness, and turn him into another person.

Hence the reinsurance of his consciousness and the acquisition of perceptive knowledge become a permanent task for man. He can never affirm that he has fully carried out this task, attained certainty, and freed himself from anguish. Ever anew the circumjacent world thrusts in on him and threatens to overpower him and " occupy " him, and ever anew he has to shake himself loose of it and free himself, and take up a separate stand " opposite " to it.

The prerequisite of consciousness and of perceptive knowledge is for the human soul to be overcome and obsessed by something. There is a Unification, a mystical communion, in which the soul assumes and experiences and suffers the being of the Alien. At this stage the soul is shaken by fear of the Alien Something, but suffers it totally; and only then begins the painful process of shaking loose the Alien Essence which, lodged within the soul, leads to feverish dreams and phantasmagoria, analogous to the processes when a foreign body has found its way into the physical organism and set up an " infection ".

This shaking free from unification with the Something Alien is the second step in consciousness and perceptive knowledge. The soul wrestles with the Alien Essence which has taken possession of it. It draws back from it, " unbecomes " it, and pushes it away. It reduces it to a few of its qualities, classifies it, and gives it a name and a sign, and finally dismisses it cold and alien, and sets itself opposite. The names and signs are merely a cypher record of mighty experiences. They are the memory-tabs for those aboriginal mystical experiences when the Alien Something was suffered in its totality and essence; and the perception of the Alien Something is valid only so long as these experiences are revived with its concept, so long as the resonance of the object is yet to be heard in the soul like the dull rumble of a distant thunderstorm.

Consciousness and perceptive knowledge have always meant strife deep within man. The man perceptive is a person who is in a

process of constant transformation and a state of continuing suffering. He lives between the two extremes of complete surrender to the Alien Something, even to the extent of utter self-surrender and unification, and of perfect liberation from it, and reversion to the clarity of being " opposite ".

In contradistinction to primitive man, the man perceptive enters voluntarily into obsession, for at the later stage of human development things are already separate from him. He yields himself to them, and allows himself to be occupied by them, to produce the mystical union of the primitive which has gone from modern man. The inner power with which he takes hold of the Alien Something " opposite " and embraces and absorbs it, is termed " Love ". It nothing resembles the secularised sweet-stickiness often denoted by the term today, but is capable of penetrating an Alien Counterpart through and through. " Every great Love is the child of some great knowing," said Leonardo da Vinci. " Love and Reason ", said Pascal " are one and the same thing." " One does not learn to know anything save what one loves," wrote Goethe, " and the deeper and more complete this Knowing is to be, the stronger and mightier and more lively must the Love be, yea and a painful passion too."

Unification or identification with the Alien Opposite is, however, only the first phase of knowing. It certainly procures for man the essence, the nature, of the Counterpart, but procures it in such a way that he himself becomes the object of an alien dæmonic subject. Consciousness is restored only when he succeeds in once more liberating himself and taking up a stand apart; only then does the Alien become an object of his perceptive knowledge. For so long as he is obsessed by it, he is still in the zone of the magical.

How does primitive man free himself from the zone of the magical? Not as an individual but only through the collective body, the tribe or clan. It is as though anguish had fused men together, so that out of many human entities one large collective-person arises whom the dark floods of anguish no longer shatter.

Within the body collective the diffuse interpenetration of soul and circumjacent world begins to separate, to assume clear outlines. As yet the subject is not as an individual but a collective creation; yet it is crystallising out of itself the single man, the chief or priest or medicine-man displaying for the first time the contours of an individual person. The collective body makes the existence of such an individual possible and secure by subjecting itself to him, while he makes the collective body's existence secure by carrying out as it were the function of its brain.

This is one side, external and social, of the process of releasing man

from the zone of the magical, but it is not the most important. Primitive man lives in a world where the Divine Power manifests itself in everything and everyone. In all things " mana " or " immunu " is at work, and he attributes value to individual things and people according to the amount of " mana " they possess. Everywhere, within and at the back of all phenomena in his world, the Divine Power hides, and all things therefore grow into living and godly-dæmonic forces which become the object of his honours and rites and ceremonies. He does not see the alien being " as itself ", but sees the Divine Force in and behind it; and by approaching this Divine Force, which has at different times marked itself in innumerable sprites, dæmons and gods, by submitting to them and honouring them, and thus communicating with them and coming to resemble them, he contrives that the significance of the alien entity for him is constantly made known, and thus made an object of consciousness. The more directly man approaches the Divine in things and at the back of them, the farther the latter fades away from them and gives him the things as possessions; and yet the more, too, the Divine condenses itself and the more clearly it reveals itself to him, until it allows him as individual man to recognise It in the divine form of the One God who stands behind all phenomena, who created the heaven and the earth, whose power penetrates and fills the whole of natural creation, and with whom the soul of man is most narrowly bound up. One may therefore say that the world is given to man in his consciousness only to the extent to which he approaches God, and that he is " possessed of them " only to the extent to which he " has " God.

Primitive man's world of the magical is not basically so different from that of the Christian, though it possesses far greater clarity. " Mana " or " immunu " possesses numerous masks and guises in which it presents itself to primitive man: it is a fountain-god, river-god, tree-god or mountain-god. The Christian possesses knowledge of the One Living God, who is in all things and reveals Himself to the individual. For Luther, God is in all things, and all things in God. " All creatures are God's masks and mummeries," he says. As prince and priest, teacher and pupil, grown-up and child, as Lord and servant, does God carry on His work in this world. It is not we who act, but in truth " it is He who acteth through us, and we are but masks of Him, whereunder he hideth Himself, and doeth All in All ". In and behind all things doth God hide; He hath His Being and worketh in things, but no thing is God Himself; it is the *Deus absconditus in revelato*, which is ever trying to abstract itself from man. When God becomes an idea, an abstract being, when He is

only enthroned as " the Other One " in the Beyond, then this world is deprived of divine semblance and differs nothing from the rationalised world of the natural sciences, in which God is no longer needed even as an hypothesis.

Upon the Christian level man has reached the highest degree of consciousness in the One Personal God. Only upon that level can he surrender himself devotedly to every person and every thing, without danger of sinking into the world of the magical and becoming obsessed. For the One Living and Personal God abides in and is at the back of all persons and things, and his own personality is continually restored to him in ever richer forms. He loses himself, only to win himself again. He ever remains a Person and the Master of Phenomena.

At the primitive level the collective body led by the chieftain provides a form of existence through which man liberates himself from anguish, and slowly learns to know and " acquire " the world immediately around him, by experiencing the " living " Divinity in and behind persons and things. But the circumstantial world to which contemporary man has adapted himself is the artificial world of technical civilisation. He is just as preoccupied by this world as primitive man is by that of Natural Creation, and reacts in the same way. But his world can give man only that which informs it. The world of Natural Creation imparted God as the animating Cause behind all phenomena. The world of technical civilisation will also deliver to man the ultimate cause and animating power behind all its phenomena ; namely, man, man obsessed with the lust for power and grown fanatical, who has made this world and who can find nothing in it and behind it save himself.

Innumerable human beings practising extreme asceticism have through centuries given all their strength in collective co-operation to the end of obtaining power, nothing but power. Out of the elements of such power the world of civilisation was built up. Innumerable people all over the world are busy day and night working to increase the sources of power. It has been said that technical science is neutral, serving all alike, and having no special qualities of its own. That is untrue. A loaded gun awaiting only the lightest finger-touch to spread destruction, an electrical switch needing but a slight turn to release enormous forces—such things are no longer neutral, for they have lowered the expenditure of the force required to produce the greatest effects ; something quite minimal is all that is needed—a tiny surge in someone's will to power. It is a serious matter for me to brain another man with a club. It is not so much to " pick him off " a hundred metres or more away with a touch of

my finger on a trigger. And it does not amount to anything to hit an " objective " which I see only as a heap of stones far beneath me, or do not see at all, but know only as it is indicated on my instruments; though at a touch of my finger cosmic forces will be released through which millions of human beings will be annihilated. It does not mean a thing " for me ". I take due note of it subsequently with interest; I learn that the pressure of my finger has blotted out 1,200,000 people, check up to see if this is a record, and go off very contentedly to breakfast.

It is splitting hairs today to argue that technical science is neutral. That the technical civilisation which man has built up is dead, that any single instrument is lifeless and without power of its own, is self-evident; how dead the technical world really is becomes apparent only when for some reason or other it no longer functions. Yet it is swarming with dæmons of such numbers and power as heretofore have never been known in the world, so that the world of technical power constitutes the most devilish temptation to which man has been exposed throughout his millennial development. Certainly the technocrat can say with perfect truth, " I have no power of my own, I merely serve man, and it is his to command in what manner I serve him ". But, then, no power of his own has been given unto the devil; he merely has the power of temptation. But how dæmonically big the power of temptation has become, and what spiritual dimensions it presupposes for man to emerge unharmed. " You have always the choice ", says the technocratic devil, " of resisting me and remaining pure! " Choice, however, I no longer have, for during my life I have been totally adapted to and slipped into a world which is the devil's. I cannot take a step in it without being caught in a thousand snares and traps. What I basically need if I am not to stumble is profound meditation and prayer; yet when I stand, the body collective falls upon me and forces me into its procrustean scheme or casts me into outer darkness. And throughout the whole process only one small concessive step is needed to be placed in the full enjoyment of power. Where, then, is the neutrality of power? It lures and tempts, and can be sure in advance of a ninety-nine per cent. success!

Behind the world of Natural Creation and man's every experience, stands the Hidden God, who appears in the numberless " mummeries, masks and disguises ", but with whom, as the final and supreme achievement of perceptive knowledge, man came face to face. Behind the world of artificial civilisation and man's experiences there stands man, who appears in the numerous mummeries, masks and disguises until he emerges in the final and supreme

manifestation as the One Living Man-God, the Adversary, the "End-Christ" as Luther calls him. If man does not succeed in liberating himself from the zone of the magical he will run into a cosmic catastrophe compared with which our past and present troubles are not more than early squalls.

Because he animates the world of technical civilisation which he has made, man cannot directly perceive this world, like primitive man, as the world of Natural Creation where he is met by something living by Divine Right. How can man, who has himself become God, draw near to himself, unless he can attain some vantage-ground where he is no longer God? How and in what manner can he now escape from the zone of the magical and release himself from the dæmons by which he is obsessed when the dæmons have their residence within him? And where is he to find a vantage-ground where he can meet himself face to face? In the world of Natural Creation man is embraced and borne up by God; in the world of technical civilisation he is embraced and borne up by himself; and how can a man who is enveloped by himself—that is to say, who has thrown his arms protectively around himself and is drawing them ever tighter the more threateningly the crisis approaches and the thicker the blows fall—how can a man in that situation be moved to release himself?

A change of situation is possible only through inner transformation. So long as he is himself God, he cannot perceive his world, being obsessed by it. To begin to see it, or even to have an inkling of it, is the first evidence of a process of inner change, of coming face to face with "Another" by whom he is embraced and carried. If the formation of consciousness and perception can be fulfilled only upon the religious plane—and the whole experience of mankind supports this assumption—then contemporary man in his obsession must seek and find God anew.

He discovered Nature and the Universe when he was able to set himself "opposite" them, face to face. We have explained that he obtained the strength for this from the Christian consciousness of mastery over Nature, and from Christian asceticism in which he was cradled; both of which remained effective when he succumbed to temptation, released himself as an individual from the Living Counterpart of God "opposite" him, and set himself up as Supreme Instance with the confirmation of the body collective.

The counterpart "opposite" him is no longer the world of Nature and the Universe, but the world of technical civilisation, and to recognise it and himself within it, he must be able to get right outside it. To liberate himself he needs a consciousness of mastery and a

powerful asceticism, which might as well be expressed by adapting St. Paul's saying:

> "Let those that drive cars, be as though they had none; those who turn out goods and earn money, as though they produced and earned nothing; those who wear fine raiment, as though they wore them not; those who have the confirmation of the body collective, as though they despised it and had no need of it. Those who make use of the world of technical civilisation, let them not misuse it; for the essence of this world passeth away."

The demand made of man today is harder than anything he achieved at the Renaissance, when he inherited the Christian consciousness of mastery and the power amassed by centuries of asceticism. Today man finds nothing before him except his own despair and the void. Therein lies the desperateness of the present situation, but therein also is to be found a large measure of hope. As the being who means to hold what he has, he finds himself surrounded by despotism and terror, but liberty sometimes comes to men in the midst of fires and destruction, when they manage to get an inkling of what lies hidden behind events.

The crisis remains meaningless if man tries to see the ruins and rubble through his ancient conceptions, and to integrate them in a consciousness which cannot forget what has been, and the world that is no more. The crisis leads man into the void, but it can give him back his liberty once he is able to maintain himself "outside".

For that is the cardinal question: how is man to maintain himself once he is no longer confirmed by the collective body or living in the security of its artificial world! It is, however, a question already addressed to God. For the moment man begins to quit his world, and himself with it as its creator and creation, he must seek out the lost "opposite" or counterpart God, as being the only power which can prop him and support him. For what is contemporary man if he inwardly renounces his productions, and no longer seeks confirmation from the collective body? The "outside" to contemporary man is sheer nothingness, a vacuum in which, in his present state, he cannot exist.

Nobody can save him from this void, and anyone desirous of helping him to find God would not wish to do so. Having lost the apperception of God by travelling for half a millennium the path of autonomous consciousness, he must follow the path to the last limit, at which point his consciousness comes to an end and his awareness of God begins. As Pascal says: "Reason's last step is to recognise

that infinitely much passes beyond it. It is very weak, if it does not succeed in this." Or, as Max Scheler expressed it,

> "It is not by any external guidance of man to the idea and reality of God, whether by so-called proofs or by persuasion, that we shall find the way to remove what is called unbelief, but by some most certain indication that man has placed a finite good in the place of God; that is to say in the absolute sphere of his objective realm which has been given him as a sphere of action against all eventualities, having 'idolised' such a good thing as the old mystics used to say. . . . To create the proper disposition for the religious growth of personality, Smashing the Idol is necessary. For the long-lasting sense of deception and disappointment of setting a finite thing (such as the State, Art, a woman, money, knowledge, and so on) in the place of God, or treating it 'as if it were God', there is always an especial reason in man's own life. If this reason be ascertained, the veil hiding the idea of God from his soul will be removed. The idol which has been placed between himself and God may be smashed, and the disrupted or misdirected order of being, the order of values in the heart, will be re-established in the sight of reason, and the dislocated religious action return of itself to the idea of God."

The question of perception, which has for over five hundred years been separated in the West from that of the perception of God, returns to its point of origin when man desires to illuminate the darkness in which he is lost. The question of the existence of the crisis turns into the question of his own existence. Instead of trying to force external events into the categories of his consciousness, his thought, once genuinely faced with the crisis, turns from external events inwards, for he recognises that he is situated behind the crisis, that in fact he himself is the crisis.

Politicians begin to say that man must change his nature, without having any means to effect such a change. For at the utmost they have force, but the exercise of force never compels the change needed to eliminate the crisis. It works in the opposite direction, and increases the dæmonic reserve in men. No authority exists today so powerless as to be able to claim men's voluntary agreement and approval.

The crisis advances upon mankind as an external event, but only when man turns away from external measures and directs his attention upon himself, will he encounter and eliminate the crisis within himself. He is unable to perceive himself as a total being, because

such totality lies beyond his consciousness. On the other hand, he can no longer be borne farther by himself on the far side of consciousness, because consciousness becomes relative and a function and instrument of Being. He can therefore advance into that Beyond only as he is borne by a power to which Being and Being Conscious are one and the same; that is to say, the Power which man has called God.

5

Meanwhile man immures himself behind rationalism and the machine because he is distressed by the possibility of being torn off his customary track and set the task of making himself anew. It is certainly far from beautiful to live amid mechanism, and is becoming insupportable; but it seems better to be a small cog in a big machine than to expose oneself to the peril of insecurity. Staking one's whole existence on God is the greatest of all gambles. True, Pascal held that in this instance the gambler has nothing to lose and everything to win, but man, especially civilised man, is a troubled being, who may be dashing in small affairs, but otherwise lets himself go only when he has received solid assurances. Investment in God is a speculation of the highest magnitude. It means giving power of attorney over all that I am and have to a being I do not know, cannot see, and concerning whom I can get only the most contradictory accounts. The representative type which technical civilisation keeps turning out on its conveyor-belt is not favourably inclined to doing business upon such terms.

Turning inwards is the only path today on which man can draw near the reality of God, but it is not a short path nor without grave difficulties. It has nothing to do with whether a man goes to church, reads the Bible, joins a new religious organisation (to which he is most inclined), or even founds one himself. God reveals Himself to the individual soul alone, and man is only able to find Him in solitude. Every collective religious movement originates in the depths of individual existence, and anyone keeping his weather eye open for such a movement today is courting disillusionment.

For man to turn from the world outside to the world within in an attempt to find reintegration in the lost depths of his own being is risky. But there is no other way. For the path to a new future does not lie straight ahead, as we have been accustomed to think. The path to the immediate future is so predetermined by the past that the only thing man can meet along it is that from which he is suffering today and would like to avert. A different future can only develop out of a changed past, so that paradoxically I cannot change the

self I am today into the self I desire to be tomorrow unless I live again and change the self I used to be. Or, to use Solovyev's words,

> " Our present life cannot in truth be bound up with God so long as the actions of our past which we performed without God, are yet burdening us. . . . Before we can attain new salvation we are called upon and bound to atone the old guilt. That is what the truth demands."

The words of the depth-psychologist are more heeded today than those of the religious teacher:

> " What we have overcome are only the verbal ghosts and not the spiritual realities which were responsible for the emergence of the gods. We are still just as much obsessed by our autonomous spiritual contents as if they were still gods. Nowadays they are called phobias, and compulsions—neurotic symptoms, in short. The gods have become maladies. Zeus no longer rules Olympus but the solar plexus, and produces freak cases for the medical specialist or disturbs the brains of politicians and journalists, who quite unconsciously foment psychic maladies. Instead of reaffirming that the dæmon is nothing but illusion, the Westerner has to experience once again the reality of the illusion. He has to learn to recognise these psychic powers, and not to wait until his whims and fancies and crazy ideas make it quite clear to him that he is not sole master in his own house. . . . In this connection it is of no use to lie to oneself. In fixation one is still obsessed. And if one is still obsessed, this means that there is still someone stronger to obsess one."

When man begins to turn back on to himself, he does not encounter the " dear God " whom the modern citizen holds in reserve for contingencies, and is wont to produce at the children's bed-time, but surrenders to the dæmons. He has roared at tremendous speed through his life, leaving everything which did not suit his conscious ego behind him. If he turns back, he meets the dark cloud of discarded dust and dirt and rubbish which pours over him and darkens the image of the Godly " Opposite " to the point of complete extinction. Only as he has the courage to penetrate this dark cloud can man approach nearer to God. Consciousness gives up at this point. It becomes once more an instrument, a function, a vessel into which the unconscious being can void its content. But the content is terrible, for it contains not only the whole past of a personal life, but

those elements of the last five centuries which were not taken into the rarefied atmosphere of history-writing.

Within the dark cloud man's guilt is concealed, and by it his destiny is determined when he merely turns his back and refuses to acknowledge it. For there is no alien Destiny, no *Fatum* which can descend upon man and capriciously kick him around, just as there is no sprightly goddess Fortuna to sweep on her ball before him. Cause and effect are at work in human affairs. The distinctively human freedom reveals itself through spontaneous acts which burst into this internal mechanism from the depths of man, bringing new impulses which may modify it if they are strong enough, but which are then taken up into the causative mechanism.

In his regression inwards man does not design consciousness and commit a *sacrificium intellectus*, but has more need than ever of his consciousness; not as a security for his existence, but as a means for hearing and understanding what is said from within. Here consciousness takes a lower seat, and at the height, where it reigned supreme, conscience steps in. And the way to conscience is through memory, recollection.

If consciousness has at its disposal conscious thought, which holds things "for themselves" and stores up and records all that we describe as "knowledge", conscience also has the capacity for recording and storing up all that is essential "for us". In conscious thought things appear as our conscious ego has seen them or as it wishes to see them. In memory things appear as the totality of our being experienced them and perceived them, and as what they meant "for us". For that reason a man who "re-collects" is recovering what as a conscious being he missed or only partially grasped. And in this process of catching up he at once frees himself from the dark power of dæmons in himself who become dæmonic only because consciousness walled itself off from them.

> "Memory is already the beginning of freedom from the dark power of remembered Being and remembered Happening", writes Max Scheler. "Recollection is usually the way in which experiences take their leave from the core of our life; it is the way in which they get away from the centre of the Ego, whose attitude to the world they helped to fix, and lose their pure drive. It is the way in which they die for us. So little is memory a part of the so-called 'Flow of psychic causation' that it far oftener interrupts this flow and brings sections of it to a standstill. So far from retaining the reality of our earlier life to inject into the present, it far more often releases us

from the fatality of this reality. History which we have apprehended mentally frees us from the power of history as actually lived."

In turning inwards, man meets the dæmons behind the crisis. In looking from within outwards, he sees only the effects of forces which he cannot perceive and recognise. Yet the situation is more hopeful, inasmuch as the dæmons have already become externally visible; the Devil, as it were, has become so confident that he no longer troubles to don the mask of simple honesty, to masquerade in *bourgeois* " theatrical props ". He steals and robs, plunders and burns, he violates, shames, whips, tortures and murders to his heart's desire. So much has become glaringly apparent, and if we still try to view the scene through the distorting glass of moribund conceptions we have inherited, the pitilessness of the reality cannot be hid. The dæmons become visible, if only in their meaning " for themselves ", not their meaning " for us ". Man certainly already sees man's power-riddled face; he sees what the representative figures which have crystallised out of the collective body look like. But he keeps seeing them only in the visage of the " Other Man ". He fails to see himself, because he is still looking from within outwards. If one reads and listens attentively to the diurnal flood of words, man's whole religious and moral indignation seems to be on the alert, ready to rear up and take the defensive against these inhuman distortions. Man sees the condition of other men very accurately. After the sociological weapons for the destruction of the Other Man through the levelling out of status and class have been taken away, and the political destruction of the Other Man by defaming him as a member of an " ism " pall, recourse is had to religious standards of value to condemn the Other. But always the Other and never oneself. Human power consciousness continually seeks a scale of values not yet reached by the Other Man, and finds a subtle gratification of power in destroying the Other, and thus confirming self. Man-God once again sits in judgement. In his whole history man has seldom thought so ill of his fellow man as today. He therefore contemplates external events with shuddering horror, but also with a certain satisfaction, approving the crisis as a judgement on the Other Man.

This is the ultimate sublimation of the mathematico-experimental method of perception, which is exploiting moral and religious laws and regulations as it did figures and formulæ. Man thrusts between himself and the Other Man the *velum* of the Ten Commandments, or the grid of his moral laws. Through this grid he now surveys the

Other Man, and marks the contour of the Other's sinfulness on the squares of his graph. From ethical and religious judgement he gains new and mighty energies for annihilating the Other. They are, indeed, stronger and more effective than political and social passions, for they hit the Other Man in the most vulnerable spot; they "bedevil" him, so that he is very properly handed over for extirpation.

Arising from this we see in the West a man-hunt on the grand scale. Every man is at once hunter and hunted, and each man through his own experience soon learns to use the methods of attack. He is first compelled to employ them in self-defence; but he enjoys the sense of power, and joins the battle of all against all; and calumny and denunciation grow more and more violent. The moral denigration of the Other Man will in time become dull and ineffective. We are soon accustomed to the idea of the meanness of human beings, both our own meanness and that of our neighbours, when other weapons, to bite more deeply and do more damage, are needed. It may safely be assumed that men will turn back to the witch-hunts, torture-chambers, and *autos da fé* of the past. Man will then thrust the *velum* and the Sermon on the Mount between himself and the Other, and test him against it; and the closer man gets by way of political, social and religious affairs to what is specifically Christian, the harder will it be to draw fine distinctions and the harder will become the Christian task itself. Christianity can only know itself by the scale of grace, and measure itself against Love.

Perception coming from the conscience may be genuine for him who has attained it and announces it, without having power to control his neighbour. It becomes effective only to the extent to which it can persuade the Other Man to look for the guilt in himself. But if it present this to him as a demand, it will inevitably become a vexation, in face of which he will become more dæmonically reserved. It will thus have the effect of making the crisis even more acute.

For so long as man lacks a clear vision of interrelations and real causes, so long as he is beguiled by false hopes of an improvement in his situation, or comforts himself with the reflection that it must one day get better because it can't be worse, so long will his conduct display a certain *laisser faire*, driving nothing to extremes. But let it once be known that the crisis imposes upon the individual the obligation of a regression to himself and a battle with his own dæmons, then, if all other roads have proved impassable, and the demand is seen to be inescapable, he will harden his heart and use the knowledge not to transform himself but against his neighbour.

He will make his relationship to God an object of consciousness, to create for himself an unassailable position from which his will can be

enforced, and the Other Man's guilt established. Civilised despotism in its political, social and moral garb must sooner or later reach its end. Its categories have to a large extent already been destroyed and its driving forces are being exposed. But from the collapse of these categories a religious despotism can easily develop which will light its bonfires to the glory of a God who has been given to the consciousness of man, and has thus become an object of man. We have so far experienced the Leaders or *Führers*. Since Augustus' day they have declared themselves gods, and these gods may be already on the move. But they will become most dangerous if they drape themselves in the mantle of the saints, and the mediæval concept of "Holy Satan" becomes a reality.

Man is, of course, discovering in his present *impasse* that there are things of which his science has told him nothing; but consciously or otherwise he is unwilling to change his angle of vision, and continues looking at such things as outside himself. He is also discovering anew the existence of conscience, but discovering it as a fact "for itself", and not as a fact "for him". He therefore invents the concept of a collective conscience, and comes to terms with that, thus helping a further dæmon into life. For there is no collective conscience; the phenomena of guilt and atonement do not constitute a living reality within the body collective. Conscience is bound up with the individual existence alone, for it only lights up therein; and it is the tragedy of the false conscience, which manifests itself as a collective formation seeking dominion over the Other Man, that it blocks his conscience as an individual.

The dæmons of the past take station, historical as well as personal, and their number is legion. And only by freeing his conscience does man regain possession of the inner faculty upon which in very truth his existence is based, because it is the organ which can re-establish polarity with the Divine Opposite or Counterpart.

Conscience is the primal faculty of man which makes his existence secure and shows him his path through history. It not only affords a dim but a sufficient image of the perfecting of his being which is to be realised in the course of man's development; it not only knows perfection as an actively vital power "opposite" it in the form of God, but also retains in memory the enormous treasury of racial experiences, available through conscience and often recalled by its action.

> "Upon his entry into life," writes Passavant, "a pair of oars and a compass were given to man, so that he might be able to steer his ship safely through stormy seas to a distant harbour.

> For he is an emigrant. The oars are his will, the compass his conscience. If he looks collectively upon the latter, and holds the former firmly in his grip, then despite winds and waves he reaches his goal. If he does not row, or rows without regard to the compass, he runs upon the shallows or the rocks. The compass is his law, that law which is written in the heart of everyman, which leads him on the safer the more he pays regard to it." [1]

Man's freedom is conferred upon him by his consciousness, which, not embracing the whole of his being nor the whole of his world circumstantial, cannot tell him with certainty how he should behave. Consciousness is at once the grandeur and wretchedness of man. It is the source of his grandeur, for as the only being who " possesses the world " instead of being " possessed by the world ", it makes him Lord of Creation. It is also the ground of his wretchedness, for with imperfect faculties he is granted a liberty through which he may violate the law in himself and the law in Natural Creation, thus exposing himself to punishment from both.

He would be wholly lost in liberty without conscience, a faculty pertaining to Being, and possessing therefore an insight into the whole of human nature, both the end of man's development and what he must do and avoid doing in order to become what he ought to become. But because he is only in process of development, the vision of his end is not given him by conscience with the clarity and certainty of consciousness " possessing " something, but is revealed to him only in a dark presentiment, an obscure feeling " for Something ". He achieves insight into conscience only as he retains awareness of his imperfect and unfinished state and knows how to listen to the still dark voice of it. Man is therefore continually faced with the task of denying his grandeur to avoid falling into a state of wretchedness; or of admitting his wretchedness in order not to fall short of his grandeur. He must therefore continually discipline and chasten that part of his being which has made him Lord of Creation. He must subject consciousness to the power of conscience, lest it drown the inner voice upon which the whole of his existence depends.

The task becomes the harder the more the assurance of his consciousness increases, and his greatness and importance are daily confirmed within the shell of his culture. The centre of his nature is then more and more displaced on to consciousness, and he is less and less moved to listen inwardly to conscience, until he surrenders all knowledge of its existence and immures himself in consciousness.

[1] Passavant: *The Conscience.*

At that instant he became a bifurcated creature, leading a conscious existence as an autonomous and completed ego secured upon culture and confirmed by the collective body, while the unrealised part of his being sinks back with conscience into the darkness of the unconscious. It also begins to lead a free and autonomous life; for the autonomy of consciousness establishes the autonomy of the unconscious. The unconscious is subject to different laws and has a different image of perfection from the conscious ego, so that man is in the paradoxical state of aiming as a conscious ego at a target which he himself has selected, while continuing to be directed unconsciously at a target selected for him from which he is unable to release himself.

The larger this cleavage becomes the more is man subjected to what he feels to be destiny. For just as consciously he appropriates the part of his circumjacent world which serves his conscious ego, so does the unconscious part of him, having immediate access to his circumjacent world, exert an influence on it and take possession of all that serves its purpose. Thus the split and internal opposition in man is projected into his circumstantial world. And the more desperately and exclusively the conscious man fights to maintain himself, the more dæmonically does the unconscious part of his nature attract towards him the things most calculated to make this self-maintenance and immurement in consciousness impossible. The opposition thus projected into the external world, and threatening man's annihilation as a conscious being, he feels to be destiny advancing upon him from without.

Inner division especially characterises people of high cultures and of the ruling classes, since they are peculiarly tempted to regard themselves as complete and perfect. Modern man, attaining a very high degree of culture, world-wide in its scope, and even reaching into cosmic space, has concluded that he can dispense with all *religio*, that binding connection between conscience and consciousness, and base human existence upon the autonomy of consciousness. Conformably with this his destiny, in the form of the external crisis, has grown to such dæmonic stature that the possibility of the complete annihilation of the world cannot be dismissed out of hand. His future will depend upon his ability to decipher the meaning of the crisis, and to rise to the task it imposes of healing the deep scission in his being.

It is the permanent task of human beings to subject consciousness to conscience, and all the technical expedients of religion serve this one end. It is man's tragedy that the task becomes more difficult the nearer he draws to his goal. The temptation to abandon the effort increases as his consciousness grows. Concurrently the crises

and catastrophes which accompany the development of humanity assume ever more violent forms; they grow as it were with man's own growth, and nothing is sillier than the belief that the worst crises occurred at the beginning of his development. The opposite is the case! It is far along his path that temptation becomes strongest, and it is characteristic of its sober realism that Christianity looks for Antichrist to appear in the last days.

What finds expression, then, in the historical crisis is the split in contemporary man. Perception of his situation and any helpful influencing of events by man can therefore only be expected from a rediscovery of his conscience. The rediscovery of his "wholeness", the healing of the split in his being, and the re-emergence of the Living Power of God will provide a foundation for the individual again. Since conscience is bound up with the individual and cannot be interpreted by the collective body, perception challenges everyman personally and alone, and can be made effective only through the voluntary determination of the individual to turn his back on crisis and collective body alike, and to take himself seriously.

Modern man is accustomed to act upon perception; it is obvious to him that "something must be done at once", and he judges the value of a perception by whether or not it can tell him what to do. But within the old pattern of action from within outwards, nothing can be done to exert a saving influence upon external events. Anything done in that direction can only make the crisis more acute, because by such means the dæmons by whom the man is obsessed become more active. Until he has liberated himself from the dæmons, man will be like a lazar, infecting everything, even the loveliest and most reasonable external system. Were man suddenly given the "new world" of which he dreams, concerning which the "isms" plaster the world with gay promises, then unless a "new man" were created at the same time, the brave new world would in a very short time look exactly like the bad old world of today, and we should be once more fixing our gaze upon the "latest thing". A new man can be produced neither by education nor breeding. All the "isms" give up here, from humanism to communism. The decision required is not to be sought on the usual plane of world affairs, political, economic or social attitudes, but simply and solely in the depths of personal existence.

Here the individual can at once do something and get something done. But because he has long been remote from this kind of action, and because he exerts all his force to seize and slam back anything hostile coming his way, he will prefer to go on busying himself in his external world, keeping an eye open for more convenient kinds of

knowledge, and such as respect the sphere of private property. For that is man's situation; on the one hand he is anxious to know where the causes of the crisis lie and the meaning of external events, but on the other hand he does not want to know so accurately as to be himself involved in the knowledge. He would like to stay as he is, only modifying the world around him to the extent of abolishing the crisis. But the truth is that he can abolish the crisis only by abolishing what he himself has been and still is; that is to say, by changing himself.

The edifice of civilisation is collapsing, but at least it still exists. Perhaps it will last a bit longer, albeit a trifle limited and primitive, and things won't be so bad. Here I can at least go on for a while being the person I was and still am. But the inner refuge into which I could escape does not exist. I have to create it and erect it in my memory; that is to say, I have to make the daring venture of going into complete insecurity and negation and living without any shell at all. And who can face that?

The nature of the challenge has been clearly stated by Max Picard:

> "Man has at all times been fleeing from God, but his escape today is more complete. Faith used to be general, there was an objective world of faith in existence; escape on the other hand was an individual matter, achieved by the individual cutting himself off by an act of decision from the world of faith. He had first of all to create his escape if escape he wished. Today it is the other way around: the external world of faith has been destroyed, and the individual at each separate moment has to create faith anew by an act of decision in releasing himself from an escapist world. For it is an escape-world not a faith-world which today exists externally, and every situation into which a man can get is predeterminedly an escape-situation: everything in the world today exists only in the form of escape. It is of course possible to transform by an act of decision any escape-situation, but it takes a lot of doing. And even if an individual succeeds in tearing himself away from the escape world into faith, this has only been done for him, one individual. The escape-world goes on existing no matter what he decides." [1]

This means that the man who today dares to face his own dæmons, and to turn inwards to meet his conscience, is not only reminded as an individual of what he used himself to be and is—an encounter of annihilating force—but at the same time sees himself in a world which has totally embraced and incorporated him, and desires to halt

[1] Max Picard: *The Flight from God.*

and hold him in the multiplicity of its daily encounters as precisely the man whom he used to be and still is; a world which absolutely contradicts whatsoever his conscience recalls to him, and rejects and spews out what he desires to be, because it sees its own existence threatened thereby.

In his desperate pass man holds to his " works ", for in these at least the rational being's consciousness has been realised in stone and steel. But the artificial instrumental world collapses, and even where it remains intact it has, by force and terror and despotism, to reduce him to a half-man, a quarter-man, an eighth-of-a-man, in order to go on functioning without friction, finally reducing him to whatever fraction of his being is necessary to equate Being with Being-Conscious. For it can make use of him only as the conscious being which served as basis for its model; it has to demand that he give up his natural being. But in proportion as he renounces being and adapts himself to the world around him and is supported by it, he becomes its thing and is obsessed by it. He ceases to be " Lord of Creation ", whether of Natural Creation or of his own version; he becomes no longer " Lord " of himself or of Things, but is a football of the dæmons who obsess him. Without Being, man loses his empery, since as a conscious being he is only able to put a fraction of his true self into play. In order to maintain himself as a person, as " Lord and Master ", he has to stake the whole of himself, has to set himself up as a complete being against the complete being of the world, to be able to perceive and recognise it in its whole significance " for him ".

As a total being, man is something which at one and the same time embraces Being and Being Conscious, the Realised and the Unrealised; he is something which was and which is, but at the same time something which should be and which must be. As an unfinished and imperfect being he is determinable neither by his past nor by his present, but is to be comprehended only from the future; that is, from the goal of his development. The goal is revealed in the image of the complete and perfect being he bears within him. It cannot be mediated by consciousness, because consciousness can apprehend only a part and not the whole of his nature. The image is made available to him in the inner experience of conscience, in the total unity and plenitude of his being, in which both conscious and unconscious, past, present and future elements of his nature are included. In this totality man experiences perfectness as a truly existent and vitally effective being, to whom he is related and with whom he stands on a reciprocal basis, available to him in meditation and in prayer.

6

> "A Christian is a free master over all things and slave unto no man," wrote Martin Luther. "A Christian is a ready servant of all things and the subject of every man. Thus it is manifest that no external thing can make him free nor virtuous, no matter what it be called. For his virtue and his freedom or again his wickedness and his imprisonment, are neither bodily nor external. What helps it the soul that the body be uncumbered, fresh and healthy, eats, drinks and lives at its own best? Or again, what harms it the soul that the body be imprisoned, sick and weary, be an-hungered and thirsting and be suffering, as it would not wish to do? These things do not reach unto anyone's soul, to free it or to imprison it, to make it virtuous or evil."

Consciousness of lordliness would suffice to make manifest the indispensable worth of Christianity in the crisis situation of today, if only because it is the sole force able to release man from being obsessed by the world around him. But we are not concerned in the present investigation with an *apologia* for Christianity. Our exposition has rather been aimed at two main facts:

1. The modern Perception Theory cannot aid mankind in the present crisis. The crisis discredits it, so that man is no longer in a position to recognise himself and his world.

2. It is vital for man to get back to conscience. Only through conscience can the individual again find a firm basis and be placed before the image of the Divine "Opposite" or Counterpart.

These conclusions inevitably pose two questions concerning Christianity:

1. Can Christianity restore perception of his own position and of the world to man, without which he is lost?

2. Can it give him strength to encounter the dæmons in himself, and to rediscover conscience?

Perception in Christianity means perception of God—an approach on the part of man to the Divine Counterpart, and to the definitive goal of his existence. As St. Augustine expresses it in a famous sentence: "I have need to perceive God, and the soul. Nothing more? No, nothing." Perception of the outer world and of man in it is, however, included because conscience has two sides, one turned towards God alone, and the other to human existence here.

If the degree and value of a perception depend, as we have said, on the extent to which the man is obsessed by the object, and then the extent to which he is able to liberate himself from the obsession, and

advance to meet himself and contemplate himself as a nature obsessed by something, then Christianity embodies these two prerequisites of perception in its two fundamental doctrines, " Love thy neighbour as thyself ! " and " Love God above all things ! "

The word " love " has of course to be divested of the sickliness of *bourgeois* sentimentality. By love is to be understood an elementary human power available to man's unconscious emotional nature, by which every man is conditioned and sustained, whether he knows it or not. It is significant that in the encounter with the " overplus " of human nature originally omitted from the modern estimate of man, science is recognising this aboriginal psychic force. It is the " libido " of depth-psychology (Jung), the " sympathy " of phenomenology (Scheler), and appears under other terms created by different departments of science. In existentialist philosophy and depth-psychology, which have taken fullest account to date of the " overplus ", an exploded rationalism is endeavouring to maintain itself within the old categories of consciousness by coining new words and terms for the elementary and unconscious powers. In order to save the autonomy of consciousness, rationalism hangs a cloak round the mysterious and embarrassing " remainder " of man, to make it fit for social intercourse, and so to introduce it into the old shell of thought. But once the " remainder " has been admitted, it throws off the cloak and rages inside perilously. Those who let it in are thus compelled to keep hanging fresh cloaks over it in the form of brand-new labels, till their scheme of thought ends by getting caught up in the confusion of its terminology and surrendering to the mysterious " remainder ". Neither existentialist philosophy nor depth-psychology has escaped this danger, and things look very turbulent and chaotic in their terminological worlds.

The Christian concept of " Love " involves that aboriginal elementary human force which arises from the total plentitude of being, which wholly envelopes the Something drawn into its vortex. It is not only passive and self-surrendering, though it is able to make itself effective in complete seclusion and self-abnegation. But its surrender is utterly removed from the degenerate pallor of the *bourgeois*, Thorwaldsen-type Christ. It goes directly for its objective, and draws it into its magic circle, and can therefore, in a manner most unpleasant to those subject to its attentions, be overmastering, inconsiderate and violent.

" Love thy neighbour as thyself " has very little to do with *caritas* and gentleness and most of what we think of in connection with the saying, and regard more or less indulgently. It does, of course, mean showing help to one's neighbour ; but the help has little to do with

what the Other Man in his conscious world of images regards as help and is awaiting. To be able to help a man I have first to perceive him, get to know him as a total being, and not merely as the conscious " I " which he displays to me. And I can help him only by showing him the way to the inner unrealised image of his perfected being, which has revealed itself to me in Love.

With this aboriginal emotional force, and from the unity and fulness of his nature (both what he was and is and is to be), man apprehends an Alien Something (in the unity and plentitude of its being), which encounters him or he goes to meet. Modern ethnology describes a similar process when it says that primitive man's soul is united in mystical communion with the thing or person it encounters. Two beings meet " wholly " and " totally ", fuse one into the other, and interpenetrate each other.

Christian Love is distinguished from this primitive process by the values being already included in it, for Christian revelation provides a clear conception of the essence of things and persons. The Christian knows that they are all creations of God, within and behind which God conceals Himself, and that man carries within him the yet-to-be-realised image of his perfection at the end of his development. *Genesis* declares that " God created man in His image, in the image of God created He him ". It is an enormous and venturesome claim which no other religion has dared to make, and runs close to the limits of *hubris*. Necessarily implied in it is the expectation that man will one day turn into the Divine. The God-man therefore always runs the risk of being turned into the man-God. It is, however, this image of God in the other man which *a priori* is the objective of Christian love; it already knows the value present in the other man, no matter how strange the masks and guises in which he cloaks himself. It therefore embraces man from the beginning and from the end of his development, and can take a relative view of him in the interregnum, of that manifest but delusive part of his nature which provokes resistance; not disregarding it, and indeed taking it all the more earnestly because the scale of values has been given, but not taking it as absolutely true.

Love for one's neighbour as for one's self is directly connected with the other Christian doctrine, " Love God above all things! " In Love for his neighbour, or for an animal, or for anything, man becomes another person, a person obsessed who has himself become this " neighbour-being ". In the regression of Love towards God, however, man is released from the state of obsession, and as one who is nothing in the sight of God, emerges to meet this " neighbour-being " in himself, whom he can now see clearly in the reality and

truth of his being, and help to bring this neighbour nearer the goal of perfectness.

The Christian God is at the same time both a Person and a Supreme Value; this is unique to Christianity as the highest manifestation of religion in human history. In loving his neighbour and loving God, the Christian becomes an envoy, who unrestrictedly meets the being Opposite to him on the horizontal plane, and adapts it to his spirit so as to place it with himself before the vertical. As both Person and Supreme Value, the Christian God enables man, in spite of his self-immolation before his Opposite on the plane of the vertical and the horizontal, to remain himself, all the more strongly and individually a person the more intensively and exclusively he can give himself to God and his neighbour; while the Supreme Value is made accessible to him in a form which does not extinguish but enlarges his consciousness into "spirit". All other religions elevate man's person while extinguishing his consciousness; Christianity alone brings man to a stage of development where both his person and his consciousness are retained before the Counterpart of God.

In Christian perception, which arises from the aboriginal emotive force of Love, the being of the alien something not only opens itself to man in its full plenitude, but reveals to him at the same time the value inherent in himself and the aim of perfection to which he is himself directed; so that the man not only frees himself from obsession by the alien something, but releases it also to its highest values. The being of this alien something is made clear to him in its meaning for him, as a completely conscious and unconscious, realised and unrealised being, and evaluated according to its power to draw him nearer the perfection he is to attain.

> ". . . The hope being that Creation as well as man would one day be freed from its thraldom to decay and gain the glorious freedom of God's children. To this day, we know, the entire creation sighs and throbs with pain; and not only so, but even we ourselves, who have the Spirit as a foretaste of the future, even we sigh deeply to ourselves as we wait for the redemption of the body that means our full sonship." [1]

In this form perception is a vital inner process which envelopes the whole man, and according to its degree influences the percipient and the object of perception. Perception and being are identical here, and increase together just as culture and consciousness grow together; but the antithesis between being and being conscious, which has split man's nature to the limit of self-destruction, is absent. True

[1] Romans viii. 21–23.

perception is really a path and a truth and life all in one; it does not drag action after it, but perception and realisation are here one and the same thing. If Western man is today indifferent to the Christian faith, it is mainly because he fails to realise its meaning and his immediate actual need. Living on memories of the security and certainty he has lost, which are vivid enough to help him over the facts of illness, age, death and guilt; mastered by the idea of completion and upborne by the hope that the crisis cannot last for ever but must one day end of itself and his lost security be restored to him, he is unable to realise the need of Christian faith.

The shell of technical civilisation was erected in spite of Christianity, and developed without Love. It sprang from a form of perception which sought and created power. Having brought it to perfection, man is faced by the dread fact that he himself will be destroyed within it unless he can build Love into his edifice. Technical civilisation has thus set him an enormous task, and seeing its gigantic power, he must in deepest grief ask himself whether mankind can rise to the needed plenitude of Love. Only in the degree in which he approaches God can he be liberated from obsession and through Love regain possession of the elemental force which is appropriating his creations.

To the question whether Christianity can restore to man the perception of the world and himself without which he is lost, therefore, we can give a decided affirmative. Only on a Christian basis can his existence again be made secure.

The second question, Is Christianity able to give man the strength to meet the dæmons within and rediscover his consciousness? is obviously closely bound up with the first.

But from one standpoint Christianity can be regarded as an object for consciousness with which intellectually man comes to terms. The second question is concerned with his being on the far side of consciousness; and it is only as it reaches the inner kernel of his being, and overcomes the scission in his nature that Christian faith can regain its life.

Very little has been gained by the realisation that consciousness is at the end of its tether, and hence of man's need to look within himself to find his conscience. True in the rediscovery of his conscience man has taken the path to God, but he does not straightway discover God, but only his own "evil conscience". Man's destiny, as we have seen, resides in the dark cloud he trails behind him, and which he desires to have regarded as his "own private affair". In that sense the destiny of the world and of mankind has indeed become a very private affair, and cleaning up man's circumstantial world might

as well cease, if it is to be carried out by persons not themselves cleaned up; for it will soon enough be in ruins again.

The important matter is not so much the rediscovering of conscience, already so potent in man that it threatens to overwhelm him and drive him to flight, but whence is man to get the strength to place himself at the disposal of conscience, whence is he to get the will to will? His conscious will is too weak, because it is split and "the part missing from the first part", resides autonomous within the cloud of guilt swirled up by his own life and half a millennium of historic development, and is dæmonically opposing him. He needs another power to venture himself within the cloud, a power to be found in God alone, for there is no other power in this interregnum of dæmons. Thus we have the paradoxical situation that man, desiring to pass through the black cloud where his guilt and destiny reside in order to find God, needs God first to be able to enter in on the path at all. He must already have found what he is seeking to be able to seek.

At this point human reason and the human will resign: and in view of the paradox, religion sets its sober pessimism against the shallow abstract optimism of the "isms". "Human reason", says Donoso Cortes, "is quite unable to convert a single man in respect of the questions which concern his salvation. All the slick rhetoric of Demosthenes and Cicero will never save a single soul." Luther judged matters as soberly and realistically: "There is no man fit and able to better his life himself, and as to that bettering of lives whereof thou speakest, which happeneth without Spirit and without Faith, the Lord maketh nothing of it, for it is work of nothing but hypocrites. Elect persons and virtuous, however, will better themselves by God, His Grace and Spirit; the others will go to wreck and ruin unbettered."

Thus man, on turning back to the dark cloud of his own guilt is forced to accept what has in fact only been awaiting him beneath the cloud. This is the second important point where Christianity is becoming a matter of life and death for Western man today.

The passive and introspective man of the East has never ripped away his connection with his inner world to the extent of the extrovert of the West. Western man was forced to tear himself free of Nature and of the Soul in order to take action against them. Now that regression inwards has become a question of life and death he is repeatedly urged to follow the methods of the East. But they are valueless to him since they provide no release from personal guilt.

C. G. Jung, who has studied Eastern methods most exhaustively, very rightly says:

> "It is not a question of imitating some inorganic alien faith . . . but of men building up Western Culture, which suffers from a thousand ills, on the spot . . . If we succeed in bringing a second or even a third psychic function to such dignity as has been attained by the intellect, then the West has every expectation of considerably outstripping the East." [1]

The men of high culture at the inception of Christianity knew guilt. They carried its influence in the division of their being. They stood—as we should call it today—in the very centre of nihilism. The doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and the atonement for guilt by the Saviour exercised so mighty a liberating force upon them, that in the midst of the decline of other cultures the Christian became a "new man" and began a "new life" upon which it was possible to found our bi-millennial Western culture.

The undeveloped peoples who adopted the new doctrine together with the works of Classical culture, were not equally cognisant of guilt, for they were at a stage antecedent to culture. Whereas Classical man suffered from the cycle of cultures and sought escape from them, that is, from his guilt, these peoples were in need of release from fear and anguish, but not from a culture and a guilt they did not yet possess. Inasmuch as these peoples subjected themselves in Christianity to an asceticism which released them both from nature and the body, they created the inner prerequisites for just that culture which has attained its perfection in the unnatural bodiless and soulless technical civilisation of today. It is only now that these peoples are meeting the problem of guilt, though a guilt far more gigantic than that of the Year One, and it is consequently only today that they begin to approach the historico-development level of the Year One. Thus it is only now that the question bursting forth from the depths of these peoples really touches the kernel of Christianity: Whence does man gain the strength to come to terms with his guilt, who gives him the will-power to turn against the evil conscience in him, and how does he manage to find through the dark cloud of evil trailing behind him a way to God, unless the strength is brought to him in advance to venture along this path? With one tug these questions tear away the veils from the kernel of Christian faith and its liberating doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, that is to say, the removal of guilt.

When Christianity thus speaks of its own affairs alone, the burden of reproach which for two thousand years it has had to bear as the only power through which the ancient cultures were delivered to the

[1] C. G. Jung: *The Secret of the Golden Blossom.*

young peoples of the West, falls away. It is scarcely possible through a doctrine of release from guilt for men suffering from the cycle of cultures, to deliver the culture and the will for redemption to men who lacked the culture and therefore the guilt, without causing much harm. A conflict of interests must arise, and either culture or doctrine will fall short. To this day Christianity has had to go hand in hand with the State and culture, and at the cost of its own doctrines, do a mighty work of education, without which our whole technical civilisation would be unthinkable. But if it is now to be approached by men who have their eye on liberation from works and the guilt thereof, it is bound to draw back and resume its original task, once again taking up a position on the far side of the State and of culture, such as it had up to the third century.

The churches as the representative structures of Christendom must therefore once more make it clear that they are standing " on the outside ", beyond culture and the State, and against technical civilisation ; they must again pass as " Other-Worldly " and " Alien " through an age which has had its fill of the familiar world and, feeling sick and remaining empty, is hungering for something more.

By the issue of a *translatio* of culture, created by the countries of the West and originating from Constantine, it became an obvious and accepted rule that in every place where Culture and the State were, there also was the Church. That is no longer possible today. The paths separate when the opposition between Spirit and Power has become clear and keeps emerging more sharply ; and now that Man's life has once again been set under the duality of God and Devil, Spirit and Power, State and Church. Where the first attempts at totality displayed themselves, the division was bound to make itself manifest ; and indeed it did become public knowledge, and has for a long time been producing Christian martyrs again. But we have only experienced the first squall. Against the totality towards which technical civilisation seems forced to steer, and under which in the unity of the apparatus and the collective body it has to bring man in the closed room of a united world, the Church must stand. The Church can only be outside and beyond such a totality. It can only answer man who is beginning to ask how he can be liberated from his guilt from " Outside ", even though the " Outside " be in the desert or the catacombs.

For, to return to the situation of the individual man, with the dark cloud containing his guilt and destiny behind him, and the impassable wall before him, he can be helped and liberated only if from some quarter strength is given him to carry out a complete regression inwards, and start on the path through the cloud to God. The

" isms " are sticking up gay posters on the wall before man, giving the illusion of windows through which he can see the Promised Land. But if they get the power for which they thirst, the posters will not be renewed, but hang down tattered and torn, showing once more the grey wall, behind which mankind is held in greater serfdom than ever before. Man is becoming quite sick of the glimpses of the Promised Land; he is beginning to suspect that the only thing before him is a grey, dirty, immutable and inescapable Barrier. Nor does he succeed in the attempt to overcome his own division, since he encounters the black cloud enshrouding his guilt, now grown gigantic, lowering on him, wherein reposes his evil conscience which has, as it were, laid an embargo on all the forces of his nature.

Anyone desirous of helping man to cease being " the one " he is and to become " the other " he has to be, must first be able to tell him that the guilt of " the one " has already been smoothed out and forgiven. In the first look the man dares cast backwards and in the first question about himself he dares put, regression and reply are already comprehended. As Nicholas of Cusa said, " Here there opens up before us the solution of the mystery, namely that the seeker presupposes what he seeks and yet at the same time does not presuppose it, inasmuch as he is seeking it "; or as Pascal said more precisely, " Thou wouldst not seek after Me unless thou hadst already found Me ".

To the second pungent question also Christianity can alone give the appropriate answer. Luther gave it in his two great words Faith and Grace——

SOLE FIDE—SOLA GRATIA!

THE END

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Hans Zehrer

a distinguished scholar and lay theologian born at the end of last century, has felt to the full the impact of modern social and political crisis.

Humanistic studies in history, philosophy, economics and medicine led to a journalistic career. For ten years from 1924 he was Editor of the Conservative monthly *Die Tat*, and then for a year he assumed full editorial responsibility for an evangelical daily paper, *Tagliche Rundschau*, in Berlin. At the end of a year he was removed by the Gestapo, escaped to Hamburg, and went underground in Kampen Sylt.

After the war he became Editor-in-Chief of *Die Welt*, and then of *Sonntagsblatt*, an evangelical weekly published in Hamburg.

To the sensitive antennae of the professional critic he adds a deeper perception, intensified by suffering and enriched by long reflection during the years of enforced silence.

As a genuinely original thinker he is not easy to classify. In some respects his conclusions are more devastatingly pessimistic than those of Spengler. Yet it would be false to call him a pessimist, holding as he does a profoundly religious view of man and his destiny. He might be described as an existentialist, but the term is a broad one, and he is ironically critical of many expressions of existentialism. A competent British scholar has declared that "Zehrer's diagnosis is more profound than any English or American assessments of the modern scene, which still take for granted the civilised pattern of home, job, and culture." Zehrer, having seen life stripped of all that appears to give it meaning in the modern world, takes little for granted, and his rigorous examination of the foundations of modern belief is an impressive feature of his work. He reaches profoundly religious conclusions, yet he is far more critical of modern religiosity than the sceptics. Like Berdyaev he defies labels and insists on being read.

MAN IN THIS WORLD

Considered as a sociological study, an examination of the long historical process by which mankind has reached its present catastrophic situation, and of the possibility of deliverance, Hans Zehrer's book is of first-rate importance.

Its value was early proclaimed by scholars and theologians in Germany, but its appeal has not been restricted to the specialist reader. Like Spengler's *Decline of the West*, it has enjoyed an immense acclaim, and its influence shows no signs of diminishing.

British scholars, impressed by the penetrating thought, wide scholarship, broad sympathies and trenchant style of the author, urged the need for an English translation. The value of the work for English readers has been increased by recent political events. It was never more important to understand the trends of thought in Germany, and Zehrer does not so much reflect a trend as create one.